



### THE REIGN King CHARLES. AN HISTORY.

Disposed into A N N A L L S.

The second Edition revised, and somewhat enlarged.

A REPLY TO SOME LATE  $\mathcal{B}$  S E  $\mathcal{R}$  V A  $\mathcal{T}$  I O  $\mathcal{N}$  Supon that HISTORY;

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

AND AT THE END OF ALL, The OBSERVATORS Rejoynder.



LONDON,

Printed by F. L. and J. G. for HEN: SEILE, Senier and Junier, over against St. Dunstans Church in Fleetstreet, and EDw: Dod, at the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1656.

#### THE PREFACE.

Hat oblique Descants will come traverse upon this honest Narrative, I already prejudicate; The fate of those who write of Times within ken, Times herter for the History then for the Historian; for while they render Truth more resplendent, they usually bring the Relator under a cloud. WV hence the bane of all faithfull Tradition, that an Historian is rarely found, until the Truth be loft. And what is History without its Idiame Truth; but a meer Romance? And if so, what Pen will undertake the History of a Kings in their Functions, so neer resemble the Divine Nature, as God himselfe hath stiled them Gods: And as in many respects they represent it, so also in that of Cyprian, though not in his sense, De Deo etiam periculosum est dicere verum. Though as Men they are within the incidence of frailty, (for as that Emperour faid, antoninus Pius apud Full Gapt. Imperium non tollit affectus, Soveraignty doth not proscribe humane affections) yet their very failings have been in former times accounted, like their Persons, so sacred, that to touch them, though never fortenderly, hath been esteemed Petty-Treason. But in King Charles (the grand concernment of these Annals ) the Danger is counterchanged; to exhi-

exhibit in him any thing of merit, or importing lesse then a Nero or Domitian, many will not endure. And these two extremes make my passage through this History like that of Fonathans to the Philistins, A sharpe rock on the one side, and a sharpe rock on the other side. VVhich confideration hath moved me to decline many things, otherwayes remarkable, and not commonly known, and to content my felf with saving-truths. Nor should I have adventured to have interposed a modest vindication of this King in some particulars, not reflecting upon the fatall proceedings against him, had not the ingenuity of some eminently dis-affected to him, led me the way.

But if in relation to these perils, I am studious to bear my self erect, yet in other concernments, some will censure me for too strong a

Bials.

Some will fay I feeme no friend to the Clergy; and left my filence should make this an Accusation, which is but a meer calumny; I answer, Church-men I honour, (no man more) and this I doe for their Sacred Orders sake. But if their Order be Sacred, it doth not (I wish it did) make all fuch who are initiated in that Order; too many of that holy profession are, ever were, and will be Sacred in another and worse sense. The unsanctified lives of some Officiating at the Sacred The Preface.

Sacred Altar, have been the complaint of all ages. Read we not to their shame of the Sons of Ely, whose impiety made men abhorre 1 Sam. 2. 17. the offerings of the Lord? Doth not Chrysostome tell us of some his contemporaries, who \ AND ON AND ON TO (had Canonical Discipline been punctually ob- 3 TOV 2500 served) should not have been permitted, so THE EXEAULT much as to step over the threshold of Gods var exer ibouse, were notwithstanding advanced to the de river 1sees. highest grison of Church Dignities ? And it TIKNY avathis Narrative presents some Ecclesiasticks w. Chrys.de to blame, the inference is fallacious, that therefore our times are worse then former; or that the accrimination overspreadeth all) No, what St. Augustine said upon the like occasion of some enormitans of his time, is no lesse true of ours, That though our Church Et si contrihad cause to grieve for the blemishes of some, liquibus yet might she glory in the Ornaments of more. tis, tamen So few being then concerned in the litle de pluribus which may distast, their disgust will be easier Aug Epist. digested, especially considering that it can be 137. nothing else but necessary truth which offends them, and so it must if I, or any other, will doe the devoir of an Historian. For Truth to be Parent of ill-will is no novelty, no not where no ill-will is the Parent of that Truth, as in this work of mine; for of those whom it will have the unhappinesse to displease, not a single unite can challenge me for any personall ma-

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Nor perhaps will the Presbyterians esteem me altogether well-affected to them. A crime the lesse, because almost epidemicall and contracted from their so principally occasioning our late sad distractions, yet have I so much charity for them, as heartily to wish they may read their errour in their punishment. For they who were so instrumentall towards the ruine of their Superiour Order, have lived to feel the teverberation of divine indignation by a consiguration of chastisement upon their owner Calling. So even and equall a decorum doth the wisdome of God observe in the Oeconomy, and dispensation of his judgement.

Nor will all objections reflect upon my inclination; some will also upon my Narrative, and fault its Orthography, which consists in the true representation, not of Words, but Things. I have constantly conversed in the vale of rurall recesse, farre from the Court (the prospect and vantage ground of observation) and upon that very account, this poor infant, even before it can speak, before it comes to the birth of edition, while it is yet in the womb of the Presse, is already by some reprobated for errors fareseen. The best is, this Objection was not earlier contrived, then my Answer framed. Ocular observation of the Author is not absolutely

The Preface.

absolutely necessary to the credibility of a story; for that were all at once, not to eclipse, but totally to extinguish the light of all Histories (Sacred onely excepted) whatfoever, the greatest part whereof were Postscript an age at least to the things recorded: and they who wrote the memorially of their owner times is as Thucydides, Xenophon, Herodian and others, who are the most accurate Reporters, ingenuously confesse; they as well derive some things annoser, upon trust from others, as other things they deliver upon their own credit. Nor must they pass for undeniable Truths, what some report they have seen and beard: such affirmations, though never so confident, are not credentiall enough, no finall supersedeas to futther inquiry, unlesse the Author hath first obtained from Fame a faire Testimonial of his good abearing: The Life of the Historian, being the Life of the Hillory, in truth, the most proper Preface to it, and which ought to be read first, nor is that noble argument to be treated by every vain, venale and mercenary fellow, but by a person of Honour, & generous habits. To speak therefore ad idem, close, and pertinent to mine own vindication, to fatisfie the impertinent curiofity of these enquirers, I shall descend to these overtures. As to what things are matters of Record, I confesse I have not consulted the very originalls, but have con-

formed

formed to Copies, but of so neer extraction, as they are but once removed from the fountain it self. In other affaires, my information hath constantly resulted from Persons, not only present, but eminently, and some in Chief commanding in the actions, or principal instruments in the Transactions. And as the greatest part of this information did flow from one fingle hand, so (for the credit of my labour) may I give this account of him, that he had as certain and as ful intelligence of all emergencies both forrain and domestique, as any one in this Nation: and as he was too judicious to receive, so was he too honest to transmit a vain report; whereby, confident I am, I stand secure against any substantial falshoods, and I hope against circumstantial also, especially in point of Temporalities, in assigning all both Things and Adions their proper times, no one of which, I will be bold to fay, is so in these Annals mis-laid, as to super-annuate, and not many to vary from the very day of their prime existence. But if I be detected to have mil reported any thing, light the errour where it will, my solace tis, Flavius Vo Nemo Historicus non aliquod mentitus, & habiturus sum mendaciorum comites, quos Historica eloquentiæ miramur Authores; the best Historiographers have done the like. And as I had in this work no design beyond Truth, so he that

can form a truer Relation, let him.

THE

# REIGN

King CHARLES.

Ing Charles was born November the 19th, Anno Charles his Dom. 1600. at Dunfermling in Scotland, not next Reign. in call to the Diadem But the hand of God countermanded Natures dispose, and by taking away Henry his incomparable Brother, presented Charle,

not onely the succeeding, but the onely male-prop of Soveraignty. The gallantry of Henry's heroique spirit tended somewhat to the disadvantage and extenuation of Charls his glory; who arriving at his years, and wanting nothing of his Princely institution, came yet short of him in the acquist of reputation with the People. Henry of a forward, and enterprising; Charles of a studious, and retired spirit; whereof the blame may, in part, be imputed to some organical impotences in his body. For, in his state of increment and growth, he was exceeding feeble in his lower parts, his legs growing not creat, but repandous and embowed, whereby he was unapt for exerciles of activity. Again, he was none of the gracefullest Orators, for his words came difficultly from him, which rendred him indisposed to speak much ... But in the flux of time, and when he began to look man in the face, those tender limbs began to to confolidate and knit together, as the most eminently tamed for exercises of honour, were forced to yield him up the His journey into Spain.

garland. And though his vocal impediment accompanied him till the fatall stroke yet was it to wife men an index of his wifdome: therefore Obloquy never plaid the fool fo much as in imputing folly to him, fince there was never, or very rarely, known a fool that stammered. And for his Intellectuals, he gave in the Spanish Court (where was his first initiation into renown) a very fatisfactory Account.

His defign thither (it's well known) was to feek a fervice, and make address unto the Lady Infanta, in the quality of a Wooer: a business which had complicated with it the hopes, that under the conduct, and into the bargain of that March, his Brother (the Pullerane) thould be postliminented and restored to his inheritance of the Palatinate, (then detained from him by the Emperour and Duke of Bavaria ) and Count Gondamore the Spanish Ambassador had partly promised as much. His reception into the Spanish Court, was with all possible ceremonies of honour and specious comply-ments; but he had rather have seen good faith in ouerpo, then falshood in the mantlings of those fair respects. For the crafty Spaniard would not admit the restitution of the Palatinate into the fabrick of the Capitulation, no not by way of Parenthesis, but said it should be as a reserve of gratuity to conferre upon the King of Great Brittain after the Nuptials confummated. And besides, he spun out and protracted the procedure of the affair to a length tedious to the Prince and ( as it happened) destructive to the whole design. For the transaction being compleated to the very figning of the Amicles on both parts, and the obtaining a Dispensation from his Holiness, and all things fit for Contract and Espousals, in the very nick of time (a strange traverse of Providence) dies Pope Gregory, whose death put all to a stand; for his Dispensation being now as null as himself, a necessity there was of soliciting Pope urban for another, which negotiated to the best improvement of expedition, could not be obtained on the suddain. And (as if the rescue had been by conspiracy ) at that very time Dispatches came from King James, to summon the Prince speedily home; who, glad of the occasion, communicates to Philip his Fathers call, and pressed the necessity of his obedience so close, as his Catholick Majesty could not in civility deny him. Matters being in this wavering posture, the lazy Spaniard seemingly bestirs him, and importunately moves on the other fide; that, fince he might not disoblige his Highness from obeying his Fathers Order, and that this unhappy remora could onely amount to the loss of some few days; and seeing there remained still the same inclination of alliance on both parts, according to the tenour of the Articles.

#### The Reign of King Charles.

Articles, ne would be pleated to affign in his abtence tome Pro Jan. Christi xy to contract with the infanta, after a new Dispensation had from Rome. To whom the Prince returned answer: That he would impower the Earl of Briftol to give his Majesty all satisfaction in that particular; which accordingly he did. Nothing was now left to impede his Highness return, but to ceremoniate his difmission agreeable to his reception. And (whatever the linings were) certain it is, there was fuch a fair outfide of love, fuch a feeming ferenity of affairs, fuch dear Accollado's interchanged between Philip and his Highness, at their valediction and parting, as eye scarce ever beheld the like. There goes a report that the Spaniard had a design to have staid him, but that he outstript the Post; which I leave, as I find it, dubious. But certain it is, the Prince began to nauseate to loath the Treawand he had reason all-sufficient so to do, having lately discovered, that the Spaniard had in his primitive and fucceeding intentions, no other design, than Treaty: not a Treaty, in order to a Match, but speciously presended, to train on the hopes of an easie King, untill the Austrian Party had made sure of the Palatinate, as King Philips Letter to Olivares, and by him shewed to the Prince, imported. Nor of other fignification was it, what the Bishop of Legovia told the Duke, That it was not safe for the King of Spain to fend his Sifter into England, where a Toleration would breed a Rebellion. Add to these, the last of refuges that the Infanta should betake her self to the house of Dis-calceato's, or the Monastery of bare-footed Nuns. Upon these confiderations, no fooner was he aboard the Vessel of his Redustion, but he dispatched a clandestine Agent to the Earl of Bri-(tol, with an express Order, not to yield up his Proxie, till further instructed from England. And so he hoisted up sail for his beloved Ithaca, and home; upon whose prosperous arrival, being OHob. the 5. the Kingdome fell into so general a conflagration with bone-fires, as if the people had meant to make an holocaust of it, such an universall and epidemical joy there was, not onely that Charles was returned fale, but that also without his lading: In truth they were so co-incident, as the loyal-hearted English could not distinguish between the Spanish Match, and Charles his ruine. Upon his first access to his Fathers Court, after many dear and cordial welcomes, he represented to his

Majesty the state of his Negotiation, who perceiving upon the whole sum, that the slie Spaniard practifed to make an after-

game of the Palatinate; and observing a general disgust in the

whole Kingdome, by advice of his Privie-Councel, dispatched

Letters to the Earl of Bristolzenjoyning him positively to demand re-

Aitution of the Palatinate, and that till he had absolute satisfaction

therein, the Proxie should not be delivered, nor any further progresse

.1625.

An. Christi made in the Treaty. This unexpected Proposal put his Catho-1625. lick Majesty into such a dazling demur, as it was no difficult matter to presage a final rupture would ensue, which happened by the solicitation of the Parliament, March 24. 1623. The estimation his Highness got in this Expedition, of a solid and scrious Prince, was more then could be expected from his puisne years of 23.

Overtures of the French Alliance.

Nor was this the onely service that Adventure did him; it gave him also a transitory view of that excellent Lady, whom the Supreme Moderator of all things had preserved for him. For Paris being obvious to him, and in his way to Spain, he delaid there one day, where Fortune entertained him with a fight of the Princess Henretta Maria at a Court-Masque; this view he stole undiscovered, through the benefit of a false hair: I will not say this casualty was causal to the first design of soliciting that Alliance; yet possible it is, that first ocular acquaintance with her person, might create something of affection in him beyend neutrality; what occasion it was first started that Treaty I know not, but for certain there was never fuch an harmony of univerfall votes in any affair of that quality, between the two Crowns, as in this. For King James recommending it to the confideration of his Privie Council, they extol both the Relation: and accommodations of the match, affuring his Majesty the Projest would take passing well in an Assembly of the three Estates; whose Convention his Majesty having before meditated, in order to the recovery of the Palatinate, he now fals upon refolution, and issueth Summons for the Parliament to assemble: which being met, and the business propounded, it was entertained with an unanimous confent, and a motion made, that an Ambassador should be sent over to negotiate the Treaty. The King finding the Parliament fo great Zelots in this Defign, he presently dispatcheth the Earl of Holland into France, to feel the Pulse of that King. Who, being a commodious and proper Instrument for such an employment, speedily imbarques for France: Where, upon the prime Overture of his Design at, the French Court, he found so ready and fluent an inclination in K. Lewes, as he was able to divine the iffue, before Capitulation; whereof he early transmitted advertisement to his Master; who, upon notice of it (for the greater honour of the correspondence, and to express the exuberancy of his devotion to the Match ) superinducted the Earl of Carlile, as an additional Ambaffador to the Earl of Holland. And from France, Lenes (who disdained to be wanting in any dues of compliment) dispatcheth the Marquesse D'Essait for England. These noble Instruments of State, ply'd their Instructions with that diligence and fidelity, as the accord was fully formed, Novem the 10. 1624, and Arti-

cies figned on both fides, fo as France and England feemed now [ An. Chrilli. as one Continent, and all of a piece. True it is, there wanted a Dispensation from the Bishop of Rome, whereof his Majesty

of France was then in pursuit.

But in the interim of that delay, King James (as if the con-fummation of that Match had been his confummatum est) brake An. christi, up his ruinous house of Clay, furrendring up at Theobalds his 1625. foul to God, and his three Kingdoms to his Son, March 27.

It will not be amisse, nor vary from the usuall Ceremony ordained to the bodies of extinct Princes, if I here represent in brief the Pourtraicture of this famous Monarch, which I will do freely, fincerely, and with a Spirit which equally diffains to libel, or to flatter him.

In the style of the Court, he went for Great Britain's Solomon; HisCharaster. nor is it any excursion beyond the precincts of Verity, to say, that neither Britain, nor any other Kingdome whatfoever, could ever, fince Solomon's daies, glory in a King, (for recondite Learning, and abstruce Knowledge) to near a march to Solomon, as He. And though he was an universal Scholar, yet did he make other Sciences (their most proper imployment ) but Drudges, and Serviceurs to Divinity, wherein he became fortranscendently eminent, as he notoriously foyl'd the greatest Clerks of the Roman See. Nor did his Theological abilities more advantage the cause of Religion abroad, then at home, they keeping the new-fangled-Clergy aloof, and at distance, as not during to intule into fo folid a judgment, their upftart and erroncous fancies: no nor disquiet the Churches peace with hererodox Opinions. A flour Adversary he was to the Arminians, and Semi-Pelagrans, whom he call'd, as Prosper before him, the enemies of Gods grace. And as slender a friend to the Presbyten, of whose tyrannical and Anti-monarchical Principles, he had had from his Cradle smarr experience. He was an excellent speaker, the scheme of his Oratory being more starely, then pedantique, and the expressions argu'd him both a King and Scholar. In his Apparel and civil garb, he seemed naturally to affect a majestique carelefness, which was so hectique, so habitual in him, as even in religious exercifes, where the extern demeanour is a grand part of that sacred homage, he was somewhat too meurious and irreverent. He was indulgent a little to his Palar, and had a smack of the Epicure. In pecuniary dispensations to his Favourites he was excessive liberal; yea, though the exigence of his own wants pleaded rerention. Nor was solomon himself more a Solomon, according to the true Notion of the Word, which unports, a man of Rest, then he; selecting for his Motro, Beati Pacipicisor the Seventh Bentitude, as most agreeable to his Genius and

An. Christi, Natural Inclination. He was studious of Peace, somewhat overmuch for a King; in pursuit whereof, virtue flew to a lessening, and (in the opinion of many) out of fight; he incurring thereby the note of Pufill animity, very suspicious from his managing the cause of the Pallatinate; for had not the thought of War been terrible to him, would he so long have endured his Son in Law exterminated from his Patrimony, while the Aufrian Faction (to his great dishonour) cajol'd and kept him in delusory chat, with specious fallacies? Would he in those several Negotiations of Carlile, Briston, Belfast, and weston, have spent so vast sums, the moity whereof, had they been disposed in Military Levies, would have modelled an Army able (when Heidelburgh, Manheim, and Frankindale defended themselves) to have totally dissipated all the Forces of the Usurpers, to have mastered the imperious Eagle, enforcing her to forgo her quarry, and re-estated the Paltzgrave? Would he so tediously have courted the Alliance of Spain, to the very great regret of his subjects, whom his Predecessor had so oftned bafflled, and whom England ever found a worse friend, then Enemy? What stronger evidence can be given in of a wonderful defect of courage? As this faint-heartedness lost him the reputation and respects of his People, so his heavie Pressures upon them, and undue Levies, by Privie-Seals, and the like, alienated their Affections, especially considering how those moneys were mis-imployed, indeed, rather then thrown away, partly, in the two dishonourable Treaties of Spain and Germany, and the consequential Entertainments; and, partly, in largesses upon his Minion Buckingham. Between this disaffection and contempt in his People, there was generated a general disposition to turbulent & boystrous darings, and expostulations, even against his Darling-Prerogative; And though those dismal Calamities which befell his Son, were doubtless ampliated by a supersetation of causes; yet was their first and main existency derivative from those recited grounds : Let Court-pens extol the calmnesse of his Halcyonian Reign, with all artifice of Rhetorique. Let them conclude the Parallel, and tell us, God gave King James, also, as he did Solomon, rest from all his Enemies round about. Yet can they never truly deny, but that admired Serenity had its fer in a Cloud, and that he left to his Successor a Crown of Thorns, as being engaged to contend with two puissant Enemies; First, the mighty Monarch of the West, the King of Spain: Secondly, the more invincible of the two, an Empty Purse: For that King who hath this Enemy to encounter, shall never atchieve any thing of glorious Production.

Charles proclaimed King.

The death of this famous Monarch, caused no other Interregnum then of Joy, his Son Charles, being immediatly by Sir Ed.

ward Zouch (then Knight-Marshall) proclaimed at the Court gate, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. His first Act of Regality was, to disparch Aviso's of his Fathers decease, to sorein Princes and States, his Correspondents, with whom he was in Amity. Next, he took into care, the becoming Obsequies of the Royal Corps: which removed from Theohalds to Denmark house in London, April the 23. was thence, the 7. of May, conveyed to westminster, and there in-hum'd, with the greatest Solemnities, and most stately Ritualities could be devised.

Though grief had taken up the principal Lodgings of King French Alli-Charles his heart, yet did it not quite turn love out of doors, but ded. he had kill an eye to France, and held himself concern'd, to let his Agents know, he was mindful of the stock he had going there: and to rear a firm assurance of his serious intentions. He sent over Letters of Procuration for the Duke of Chevereux, to espouse the Lady Henriesta Maria; onely he added this especial pre-caution, That those Letters should not be resigned up untill May the 8. when the Celebrities of his Fathers Funerall would be over; for he would not, that Grief and Joy (things incompatible) should justle. But these Instructions; for what cause, I know not) were not in all points precisely observed; for on May the 11 as others; and the first, as we compute, 6, dayes before King James his Obsequies, the Espousals were solemnized in the Church of Nostre-Dame at Paris; the Queen being given by her two Brothers, the King and Monsieur. The Nuptials past, the Royal Bride prepared for England; and to wait upon her with the greater iplendor, His Majesty dispatcheth over the Duke of Buckingham, with the Earl of Montgomery, and other Persons of quality. May the 24. they arrived at Paris, and June the 2. the Queen ( after the iteration of most affectionate adieus, reciprocated and interchanged between the King and her self, set forward for Amiens; where, being attended with a most Princely Retinue, she was under the restraint of a magnificent entertainment, till the 16. of that moneth; thence, the diflodged for Bulloign, where the was to imbarque for England, (the Contagion then being much at Calais) there she found ready to receive her, one and twenty tall Ships sent from her Dearest, with a gallant Convoy of the Dutchels of Buckingham, and other Ladies of Honour and Eminence, to serve her. June. 22. she set sail for England, and landed safe at Dover, after a turbulent and tempostuous passage. His Majesty lay that night at Canterbury, and next morning, with joy incredible, greeted his Royal Confort, and conducted her to Canterbury, where the Marriage was finally compleated; the Duke of Chevereux, His, Majesties former Representative, consigning up his precious charge to the King.

An.Chritte 1625.

From Canterbury both their Majesties took Coach for whitehall, where the third day after their arrival, presenting themselves in their Thrones, before the Nobles of the Realm, their Marriage was declared with most harmonious rejoycings. But Kings, though Paramount in some concernments, yet in the tenure of Earthly enjoyments, are inter-Commoners with others; their Felicities can plead no Charter of Priviledge, but are incident to like Turns, Contingencies, and Retirements, with those of the Common-man. And these Exultations were rather great, than long: for London being then visited and empested with a fierce and furious Contagion, it began to enlarge its quarters so far, as at length it seized even white-hall it self, which necessitated the King and Queen to remove to Hampton-Court.

A Reflex up on the Pesti lence;

It doth, I know, render King Charles obnoxious to untoward and finifter descants, that he commenced his Reign with so inauspicious an Omen, as that prodigious Pestilence; yet, setting aside that mortality had now taken forth a larger Commission, what can be imputed more to him, then that he did Patrize? Would the Suggestors of that oblique Construction, fearch counter, little more then a score of years; they might learn, that King James (who enjoyed the longest term of Peace of any Brittill King fince the Conquest ) initiated his Government with, and understhe same Calamity. Nay, it is further remarkable, that these two Plagues, that of the Father, this of the Son, were Natives both of one Parish (white-Chappel) yea under the same Roof, and iffued forth on the same day of the moneth; such correspondence was there in their Entrance, who were so diversify'd in their Exits.

And upon the Alliance.

To the former Paragraph, and short Discourse upon the grand Infection, give me leave to adde another, (and both within Historical Toleration) by way of speculation upon the French Alliance

I have heard some, who undertake to mate all events with their proper causes, passionately ascribe Englands calamities to those internuptials, and fetch that irefull stroke of divine Justice upon his late Majesty, from his marrying a Lady of misbelief.

Grant I do, that both England's, and his Majesties sufferings, may (in some sort) be reductive to the causality of that Match: but that there was any intrinsique noxiousnesse in it, either as French, or Popish, I am not yet convinced. As French, it could not morally operate any thing confiderably destructive to us, in regard our correspondence and commerce with that Nation, was rarely lesse, then during that Alliance. Again, certain it is, and I have partly proved it before, that the felf-same spirit of Contest (the main cause of our divisions) between Regal-Pre-

rogative

rogative and popular Liberty ( I had almost faid Liception . An. Cordi. neffe ) was emergent long before that Marriage. Nor stare I affix direct and absolute culpability to it a doon the bare account of its being. Popifb meetly which I can more cafily diflike then justly blame. It is I know, with much confidence urged what St. Paul interdicted the Covinthians, Berrot unequally yoked. But that prohibition, being determined explicitly to Infidels, and persons of another Religions is improperly apply'd to Papists, who hold the same Fundamentals (the Creed Apostolical) with us, and are in truth of the same Rollgion. Christian, with us; to thousands of whom we dare not think the advenue's of eternal bleffedness precluded : for though there be many Errours in the Church of Rome, which will not admit of Reconciliation; yet are there many thousand members thereof, whose incuriosity, contented with ordinary and faving Truths, neglect the acquaintance of those noxious myster ries, and are in the fafest plight, by reason of their plain and simple belief. It cannot be denied, but unity and individuation of perswasion in all points of sacred truths, were to be wished between married couples; yer notwithstanding, it is now of such absolute necessity to Matrimonial Bonds, but (where other accommodations of congruity respond not) we are probably indulged the choice of one of differting belief. And this was, at this time, King Charles his Cafe for fuch was the paucity of Protestant Princes, as the whole Tribe of Reformation was not able to furnish and supply him with one single March of agreeable Birth and Fortune. But be the finne as great, as malice it felf can wish it; yet can it not be truly stiled his; who, though he was most concern'd, was least conversant in the transaction of the bufinels: For, as I have already manifested, (before he came to the Crown, the Affair hadclearly proceeded beyond an honourable Retreat, being not onely commenced, but fully and finally made up by his Father, with the unanim vote of Parliament. So that, to the obligation of his filial obedience, there was superinducted a decent complacence with the 3. Estates; the Principality of the Crime(if a Crime it must be) being theirs, theirs was also the greater condignity of the Block. But Divine vengeance is wing out no signal attachment against them, convinceth this idle suggestion of ill confrivance, since nothing is more preposterous, then to punish the Access ary, and discharge the prime Offendor.

The same time, while his Majesty was thus bussed in his amorous negotiation abroad, he ply'd as wel his interest at home and while he wooed his Royal Mistress there, he made love to his people here, by fummoning a Parliament: That League called. being not more important to him as Man, then this as King; for as Man is without a Female Confort, so is a King without

1635.

A.d Allema

Cateram turissimam facit. Aug. Ep. Fundam, cap tod T

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D

The Reign of King Charles.

An. Christis his Supream Councel, an half-form'd, steril thing : the natural Extracts of the one, procreated without a Wife, are not more spurious then the Laws, the Politique Descendents of the other, without the coition of a Representative. The solemnity of this Grand Match was commenced at westminster, June the 18 At the first interview, it appeared under the scheme and fashion of a Money-Wedding ; and, in truth, the publick affairs did then implore no less. Upon the opening of the Parliament, the King imparted his mind to the Lords and Commons, to this effect.

And Affem= bled.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The Hings Speech.

TO u are not ignorant, that at your earnest entreaty, March 23. 1623. my Father (of bappy memory) first tock up arms for the recovery of the Palatinate, for which purpose, by your assistance, he began to form a confiderable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado, and Navie-Royal. But Death intervening between him and the Atchievement, the war, with the Crown, is devolved upon Me. To the profecution whereof, as I am obliged, both in Nature and Honour, so I question not, but the same necessity continuing, you'l cherish the Astion, with the like Affection, and further it with a ready Contribution. True it is you furnished my Father with affectionate Supplies, but they held no symmetry or proportion with the charge of so great an Enterprise. For those your Donatives are all disturst to a peny; and I am enforced to Summon you hither, to tell you, that neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet set forth without further Aid.

Consider, I pray you, the Eyes of all Europe are defixt upon Me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo Aluster and Ostentation, if you now desert Me. Consider, it is my first Attempt, wherein, if I sustain a foyl, it will blemis all my future Honour.

If mine cannot let your own Reputation move you: deliver and expedite me fairly out of this war wherewith you have encombred (let it never be faid, whereinto you have betrayed) me. I desire therefore, your speedy supply; speedy I call it, for else it will prove no supply. The Sun you know is entring into his declining point; so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it will be rather not 100 soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the Mortality now regnant in this City, which Should it ( as so it may, and no breach of Priviledge neither ) arrest any one Member of either House, it soon would put a period both to Consultation and Session; so that your own Periclitation, necessitates an early Resolution.

In lam, three of the best Rheioritians, Honour, Opportunit, and An. Chilling Safety are all of a Plot, and plead, you fee, for expedition. Perhaps, 1625. it may be expected, I should say something in way of account of my Relioion; as also, of the temper and tenure of my future Government. But as I hope, I have not been guilty of any thing, which may justly that the least question in either; so I defire you would r pose in this affurance that I will in neither, vary from those Principles, wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that eminent Gamaliel, my late Fa-

His Speech being ended, the King vailed his Crown, a thing rare in any of his Predecessors.

Though deny'd it could not be, but this Speech was elemented of very rational Materials, and ponderous Arguments; yet did it not cause such a precipitation of Resolution, but that the Parliament did descend to consideration of it by degrees.

That which retarded the Debate, was this; They had in store by them two Petitions; one for Religion; the other, against Grievances: to which, having been model'd in King James his time, and prefer'd to him at the close of the last Session of the last Parliament, they (as yet) never received answer. They said it was the ancient, and as they conceived, a most prudential! The Parliapractice, to present Petitions at the Commencement of Parlia-fiver. ments, or fo long before their Diffolution, as the King might have time to return a full and deliberate Answer; That the same course they were resolved strictly to pursue, and give priority of dispatch to those Petitions, before any other businesse whatfoever; which accordingly they did.

To the several Heads against Grievances, his Majesty gave a distinct and satisfactory Answer, and promised largely to the Petition for Religion: and the better to draw on supplies, he did audit to them the feveral Disbursments, both relating to the Army and Navy, that all jealousies of mis-imployment might be removed; which produced so good effects, as the Laity gave him, freely and without condition, two Subjidies from Protestants, and four from Papists, as a mulct of the House, upon their Recusancy, and the Clergy three.

This was upon July the Eighth, and the next day the King fignified, That He took notice of the flender appearance in the House, by reason of the Infection; and that therefore, having a tender regard to their healths, he declared his Intention of adjourning upon Munday next, being the 11th, of that moneth; which accordingly was performed, to the 1. of August, and Oxford named for the place, which gave difgust to some sew of the House.

An. Chrilli 1

1625: My. Mountague quett.o-

In this Session of Parliament was Mr. Mountague questioned, for publishing certain Books, prejudicial to the Protest ant cause, for which he was ordered to be brought to the Bar, to whom the Speaker declared the pleasure of the House, That they would refer his censure to the next meeting; and, in the interim, in respect of his notorious contempt, he should stand committed to the Serieants wardsentring Bail for his then appearance.

But Mr. Mountague had, by the artifice of his Court-friends, cunningly crept into the Kings fervice undifferred, and the King fignified to the Parliament two days after, That be thought his fercants ( whereof Mountague was one) might have as much prosection as the fere ant of an ordinary Burgefs. Nevertheless, his Bond of two thousand pound, whereupon he was bailed, continued uncancelled.

This Session, was also enacted a Law for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lords-day, called Sunday.

A Law, enabling the Kings Muelly, to make Leafes of Lands parcel of his Highness Dutchy of Coran all, or annexed to the fame.

A Law, for the ease, in obtaining of Licenses of Alienation, and in the pleading of Alienations with Licence, or of Pardon of Alienation without Licence in the Court of Exchequer, or elsewhere.

A Law, for the further restraint of tipling in Inns, Alchouses, and other Victualling-houses.

An Act, that this Seffion of Parliament, shall not determine

by his Majestics Royal affent to these Acts.

There passed also in the House of Commons a Bill of Tunnage and Poundage; but because it was limited to a year, whereas termer Grants, to his Majesties Predecessors, were for term of life, it was foundred in the Lords House, and went no further; the cause of this restraint was,

In the Parliament, 18.0f King James, the Kings Councel cu'led out of that Act, Reasons for pretermitted Customes, and other Impositions, which were then charged upon, and grievances to the Subject. Again, there had been lately fet an immoderate Rate upon those Customes; and therefore they had in design to reduce them to the Rate setled in Queen Maries dayes; but they had not time enough, at prefent, to make the Reforma-

August the first, the Parliament met again at Oxford, the Divinity School was appointed for the House of Commons, and the Galleries above, for the House of Lords.

The fourth of the same moneth, both Houses were called to gether to Christ-Church-hall by the King, where He laid open to them, his wants, for fetting forth the Fleet. But the Parliament,

before they would return his Majetty any Answer, presented An. Christia Him with a Petition against Reculants to this effect.

1625.

Most Gracious Soveraign,

IT Leing infalilly true, that nothing can more establish your Throne, and assure the peace and prosperity of your People, then the units and fincerity of Religion ; We your Majesties most humble and loyale Subjects and Commons in this prefent Parliament affembled solfer vino that of late there is an apparent mischievous encrease of Papilts within your Dominions, hold our felves bound in Conscience, and Duty, to prefent the same unto your sacred Majesty, together with the dangerous Confequences, and what we conceive to be the most principal Causes, and what may be the Remedies thereof.

1. Their desperate ends, being the subversion both of Church and State, and the refleshesse of their spirits to attain those ends. The Dodrine of their Teachers and Leaders perswading them, that therein they (ball do God good fervice.

2. Their evident and strict dependence upon such forein Princes,

as no way affect the good of your Majesty and this State.

3. An opening a way of Popularity to the ambition of any who shall adventure to make himself head of so great a party.

#### The principal Causes of the increase of Papists.

1. The want of due execution of the Laws against Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Papists, Recufants, occasioned partly by the connivence of the Statespartly by many abuses of Officers.

2. The interposing of forein Princes, by their Ambassadors and

Agents in favour of them.

3. Their great concourse to the City, and their frequent Conventicles, and Conferences there.

4. The education of their Children in Houses and Seminaries of their Religion in forein parts, which of late have been greatly multiplied and enlarged, for the entertainment of the English:

5. That in many places of this your Realm, your people are not suf-

siciently instructed in the knowledge of true Religion.

6. The licentious publishing of Popish and seditions Books.

7. The imployment of men ill-affected in Religion, in places of Government, who countenance the Popish party.

The

The Parliamenr affembled at Oxford.

The Reign of King Charles.

15

An. Chrilli 1625.

The Remedies be thefe.

I. That there be great care taken in choice, and admitting Schoolnasters, and that the Ordinaries make diligent inquiries of their 'emeanours, and proceed to the removing of such as shall be faul-

2. That the ancient Discipline of the University be restored being

he famous Nurfery of Literature.

3. That for the propagation of the Gospel, such able Ministers, as rave been formerly filenced, may, by fair entreaty of the Bishops, be reluced to the service of the Church, and that Non-residency, Pluralities, and Commendums, may be moderated.

4. That a straight provision may be made against transporting of English Children to Popish Seminaries beyond Seus, and for recal-

ing such as are there already.

5. That no Popish Recusant be permitted to come within the Court, unless upon special occasion, agreeable to the Statute, 3d. lacobi.

6. That all Jesuits, Priests, and others, having taken Orders from he See of Rome, may be banished by Proclamation; and, in case of lisobedience, may be proceeded against, according to the Lawes of the Land.

7. That none, by any Authority derived from the See of Rome, be permitted to confer Orders, or exercise any Ecclesiastical Function within your Majesties Dominions.

8. That all former Grants of Reculants Lands, made to the use and interest of such Recusants, may, by the advice of your Majesties

Councel, be voided.

9. That all Recusants may be excommunicated, and not absolved, but upon conformity.

10. That all Recusants be removed from places of Authority, and Government.

11. That all Recusants be difarmed, according to the provision of the Law.

12. That they may be all confined to remain at their Countrey habitations, and not to travel above five miles from thence.

13. That none of your Majesties natural born subjects, be suffered to repair to the hearing of Masses, or other superstitious service, at the Chappels, or Houses, of forein Ambass adors, or else-where.

14. That all such Infolencies, as any Popishly affected have lately committed, to the dishonour of our Religion, be exemplarily puni-

15. That the penalty of 12 d. every Sunday, for default of coming o Divine Service in the Church, without lawful excuse, may be put in execution.

Lastly. That your Majesty would be pleased to order, that the like An. Christ courses may be taken in Ircland, for the establishing of true Religion there.

1625.

To all these several Branches, the King return'd August 7, an The Kingson Answer so plausible and satisfactory, as nothing could be desi- Answer.

One good turn requires another, and as the King had given the Parliament ample content by this Answer; so he hoped they would be as cheerful in supplying him with moneyes, for which he earnestly importuned them, and especially for his great Naval preparation. Whereupon ensued a great Debate in the House, some were very prompt to give, without delay; fome would give, but in convenient time nor then: fome would give, but they complained that the Defign was managed by roung and Single Councel sthat Sir Robert Mansel, a man of judgment and experience, had declared against the Plot, and had tendered the Councel of War a project of greater advantage, and less expence, which was approved by the Lord of Chichester: To which the Solicitor replyed in the Dukes behalf, that the Councel of War(for the generality) much disliked the project of Sir Robert, and concluded upon what was then intended. But the greater part agreed not to give: and to make an humble Remonstrance, declaring the Causes and Reasons of their not giving.

Most of the Voters of this Remonstrance, flew high, and imperuously prest in upon the Duke: some would devest him of his Offices, the Admiralty especially; others of his Revenue, by refuming what he possest of the Crown demeans: Others, demanded an account of what publike monies he had been entrusted with. This being signify'd to the King, he soon prognosticated of what quality the Remonstrance would prove; therefore, in distaste, he determined to dissolve the Parliament. The House of Commons were resolved into a grand Committee, when the Usher came from the Lords house with that message, and before they would permit the Solicitor, then in the Chair, to leave his feat, they agreed upon a Protestation, which Mr. Glanvile stood up, and declared to this effect:

First, To give his Majesty thanks for his gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

Next, For his Care of our healths, in giving us leave to depart this dangerous time.

17

An.Chrifti,

Lastly A duriful Declaration of our Assession, and Loyalty, and purpose to supply his Majesty in a Parliamentary way, in a sitting and convenient time.

 This being done, the Speaker took the Chair; and admitting the Usher, he delivered his Message from the Lords, concerning the dissolution of the Parliament.

Now had the King an arium for his Summers passime; but, that his own progress might not impede that of his Affairs, his Councel were commanded to go along with him: By, whose general Advice, two things were most considerably resolved upon.

Treaty with the United Provinces. Firfto That the Fleet (hould speedily put out to Sea.

Secondly, That a more fraight Amity should be entred into with

the States of the United Provinces.

Who reforting to the King in September, by their Ambassa-dors, prayed his Conjunction with them in a League Offensive and Defensive, against their Common-Enemies, the Emperour, and King of Spain; and not onely so, but that he would also affish them in soliciting other Princes to associate with them, in a Confederation of equal Latitude.

To which our king freely condescended (upon agreement, that the States should bear a sourch part of the charge of the Fleet ) and, in pursuance thereof, sent in Ottober next, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Holland, over to the Hague, both to confer with the Ambassadors of other Princes about it, and so put his disconsolate Sister in some hopes ofher restitution to the Palatinate.

But these two being arrived in Holland, found the Agents of France and Denmark nor impowered to so large a Concession; alleadging, That their Masters condition was indisposed to so ample a Compliance: Whereupon, for the better satisfaction of and accommodation to all parties, the League was concluded in these words; For the restoring the Liberties of Germany.

This Negotiation, having taken up somewhat more then a moneth, home returns the Duke, and Earl, where they abode not long, before they were saluted with the current news of the misfortune of Vicount wimbletons Fleet at Gades.

The ill fuccels of Gades Voyage.

Officier the 8th the Admiral put forth to Sea, and on the 12. was encountred with fo furious a ftorm; that in conflict and skirmish with it, all his Long-boats, and the Long-Robert of Ipfwich, a Ship wherein a hundred feventy five persons perished, and the rest were so dissipated and scattered; that for seven dayes, sifty of the English Navy, being (in all) but eighty, were missing.

Again,

Again, when they met together in the height of the Southern An. Christs Cape, and had a defire to make some local Oniet, a Councell of War being called, to resolve, where the attempt should be first made (their Commission leaving them at that liberty) the debate was so long, as in the interim, their discovery alarum'd the next Coass to a posture of Desence.

The Reign of King Charles.

At length, the Councel determined an affault upon the thips in the Bay of Gades, a defign much urged by the Earl of Estex, Vice-Admiral, who eagerly defired there to play over his Game of Honour again, double or quit with the Spaniards. But that Fleet lay in a Harbor inacceffible, unless the Fort belonging to Puntal Castle could be cleared; therefore Order was given, That twenty English and sive Dutch Ships should advance for that service.

But the flender reputation the Admirall had amongst the Mariners (as one ignorant in Sea Affairs) and a deep difgust they took, that he should be obtruded and thrust upon them in stead of Sir Robert Mansel, a Gentleman peculiarly qualified for, and long traded in Sea exploits, who had (as they thought) an unquestionable right to the chief conduct of this enterprise (upon the Dukes default) so lessen'd the influence of the Authority, that the five Dutch onely attended their duty, not a man of the other twenty firring: which caused the Admirall from thip to thip, personally to re-inforce his Command, untill with much ado he obtained their advance and engagement against the Castle; which, contrary to expectation, entertained the shock with so sturdy a defiance, as neer two thousand great shot put it not to the detriment of one stone. Whereupon the Admiral concluding it that way impregnable, decreed to try it by a Land-force; to which end, Sir John Burroughs (a Gentleman of eminent gallantry in Martial feats) was fent with a Regiment of Foot to manage that defign; He going upon the fervice, met with some Horse and Foot of the Enemies intending to impede his march; but he welcomed them with fuch a storm of courage, that the Captain Governour of the Castle viewing the tergiversation and flight of his party, began to diflike the scituation of his strength, and hung out a white flag; whereupon a parley enfued, and a resignation upon that Parley. The Fort, with 15. Barrels of Powder, and eight pieces of Ordinance, being now ours, the ships were consequently in the general expectation adjudged us: therefore Instructions were issued out for the firing of them, and Sir Samuel Argal was appointed to be the Incendiary. And, in the interim, the Field-men were directed to Land for their Recreation, to take in fresh-water, to forrage the Countrey, and to keep the stronger Guard: but no sooner were they on shore, then they discovered the Cellars plentifully

The Reign of King Charles.

19

An. Chryl: pientifully stock't with Wine, whereof they caroused to liberally(every one being his own Vintner)in despite of more sober commands to the contrary, as put them upon the hazard of a dismal reckoning; for had the Spaniard known his advantage, he might have made a lamentable butchery amongst them, being worse sitted for slight then resistance, and the more disaoled from running who were not able to stand. The Admirall finding the fouldiers thus infufferably difordered, and perceiving that to stay longer were bootlesse, resolved to put to Sea again, and the rather by reason the Plate Fleet from the west-Indies was now expected every day. But first he sent to Sir Samuel Argal to know what execution he had done, who returned answer, that their purpose was deseated by the enemies drawing up their best ships to Port Royal, and finking others in the Channel, thereby to obstruct the advenue. Matters succeeding thus ill, the Admirall re-imbarques all and noyling up fayl plies for the Southward Cape, there intending to wait twenty dayes for the Plate-Fleet, hoping to atchieve forching against it, which might be adæquate to, and make even with, the general expectation at home: but he was in no capacity to performe any thing considerable against an enemy, unles by communication of his own calamity, for the contagion so reigned in his Navie, that there were not hail men enow to nandle the fails; and to make the affliction more fociable, there being a hundred & fifty fick in the S. George, the Councel ordred (an odde method of cure) that every ship should take to nurse a couple of the fick, and subsortitiously, by lot, to supply their places with as many found. This course so propagated the infection, that it foon swept thousands over-board. This calamity took away the Admirals stomach to the Plate-fleet (which passed by within four dayes after) and enforced him to ply home with all the speed he could; but his motion was so rerarded, that the newes of his miscarriage much outwent him, and while every man stood gaping after the issue of the expedition, same flew into his mouth, and fill'd it with the report of what a bad market of reputation the English came to.

Descants upon

Severall were the Descants of such as pretended to judicious censure, as fancy or affection swayed the ballance; some blamed the Parliament for not supplying the Kings necessities, whereby the Fleet put forth too late, October being always accounted with us a month formidable to Navigation, in regard of the usual tempestuousnesse of the season, known under the notion of Michaelmas flaw. Some reflected finisterly upon the Duke, faying It never either was, or will be well with England, while the Sea is under the command of an Admirall fo young, and withall fo

unexperienced. Others also made deductions from this mist An. Christie carriage in reference to the King, that because Commencements do often forespeak the Qualification of suture C ontingencies in the Series, and Row of fucceeding-Affairs, they much feared this was but the earnest of some inauspiciousness which would attend the refidue of his Reign. Nor amongst the rest, was Captain Brets conjecture vain, who told the Duke. That the Fleet was never like to speed better, wherein there went along, Bag without Money; Cook without Meat; and Love without Charity: so were the three Captains named. And a great default there was, doubtleffe, of sufficient pay, of wholsom meat, and unanimity.

The result of this undertaking (for Action I cannot call it) affording no better income of honour to us, I have abbreviated to as narrow a scantling as I could; for Journals must not intrude into History, but where every day exhibiteth something remarkable, whose concealment may seem injurious to the Narrative, or fraudulent to the merit of the exploit.

The Michaelmus Term was, by reason of the infection at London, translated to Redding, from whence the King, according to his late Answer in Parliament, issued out in November, a Commission to the Judges, to see the Laws against Recusants put in execution.

November the eleventh, his Majesty minding what he promifed at Oxford, ordered a Commission to be sent out under the against Recus Great Seal, for putting in execution Laws enacted against Re- Vants.

This Commission was read in all the Courts of Judicature ar Redding; and withall, a Letter was directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, enjoyning him to take speciall care within his Province for the discovery of Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Recusants, offenders against the Laws. It was, in truth, high time, for severe proceedings against them, they having contracted to much infolence, prefuming protection, by reason of the late Match, that at winchester, and many other places, they frequently passed through the Churches in time of Divine Ser- The Papier vice, houting and ho-lo-ing, not onely to the disturbance of infolent that Duty, but form of our Religion; yea, and one Popish Lord, when the King was at Chappell, was heard to prate on purpose lowder in a Gallery adjoyning, then the Chaplain prayed; whereat the King was so moved, that he sent this mesfage to him, Either let him come, and do as me do; or elfe I will make him prate further off.

In the beginning of the next year, mighty preparation was made, both here, and in scotland, for the re-inforcing of Naval strength.

Term adjourncdto Redding

An. Christi 1625.

Nor was the Land-Militia left unregarded, but because the Countrey Captains of the Train-bands were (for the generality) very unskilfull and rude in the use of their Arms, an hundred and fifty Veteran Souldiers were fent for out of the Low-Countries to drill and discipline them.

The malignancy of the Air, having lain under the correction of a nipping and frosty Winter, began to contract a more salubrious temper, whereby the Plague decreafing, the King fecure of fafety, began to meditate magnificence, and matters of publick concernment. And the first thing resolved upon was, his folemn initiation into Regality, and fetting the Crown upon his head: a thing practifed by the wifest Monarchs, as wherein they cannot be idle to better purpose. For, though it conferreth no one dram of folid and reall grandure to the Throne; yer ceremoniated, as it is, with fuch Formalities, it representeth it self a serious vanity. For, as the King enters recognizance and stipulateth with the People, to govern according to Law; fo they unanimoufly acclaim him their King, all futable to the ancient mode of conveying Soveraignty.

The King Crowned.

The day appointed for this Ceremony, was Feb. the 2d. The King, whether more provident for his person (which so great a concourse might endanger) or purse, uncertain, rode not to westminster through the City, after the ancient fashion, but went privatly by water: This defign was a frugall one, and faved him fixty thousand pound, which should otherwise have been disbursed in Scarlet for his Train; and little was the day lesse glorious for the No-rubrique of folemnity, considering it wanted it not in the Calendar. Two things were of singular remarque in the Order of this Celebrity: First, that whereas it properly belongs to the Dean of westmin, to bear a considerable part in that sacred Administration, Dr. williams that Dean, and Bishop of Lincoln, was put put by; and Dr. Laud, Bishop of St. Davids, ordered to officiate in his stead. Secondly, That some words in a Prayer, which had been omitted ever fince Henry the 6. his time, were refumed, and used to this effect; Let him obtain favour for this people, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the Temple, give him Peters Key of Discipline, Paul's Doctrine. Other variation then this there was none; nor was this variation the folitary act of Laud alone, but of a Committee: This I positively affert, as minding the Reformation of a vulgar Error, thrown abroad in loose Pamphlets, that Bishop Laud altered the Coronation Oath; whereas the Oath it self was precisely the same with former Precedents.

A Parliament called.

Obtineat gratie

am huic Popule

ficul Assonin

Tabernaculo.

Elizens in flux

vio, Zatharias

in Templo. Sit

Petrus in clave

Paulus in dog= MALE.

> The Coronation being past, the King prepareth for a Parliament now approaching. The last was somewhat (he thought) uncivil towards the Duke, and the (fo thought) Delinquents

must be made examples; upon this account the Lord Keeper An. Christia williams, foon after the diffolution of the Parliament, fell, and his place disposed of to Sir Thomas Coventry: Many who knew what a friendly hand the Duke had lent this Bithop, all along every motion of his advancement, and that he was raised under the sole conduct of his favour, interpreted this traverse of the Bilboy to the other party, as an act of deep ingratitude; and to it was in truth, if any confideration apart from the interest of the Common-wealth moved him to it: if not, the fact was warrantable. For when once the Publique is put into our Clientele, under our protection, all by-Relations must stand aloof. Nor was his mischief great, his cancelier; his fall being onely from the first loft: for though he parted from the williams, Lord Great Seal, he kept the Lawn-sleeves; and though he left the Keeper, dis-Purse behind him, he went away with the Money: having placed. feathered his Nest pretty well, and apprehending his condition to be somewhat totrering, he made all the means he could to re-ingratiate himself with the Duke, but nothing could prevail; nor would the Duke be exorated, no not by the intercession of the Countesse his Mother: but it was not enough to pluck his teathers, unlesse his nails were pared also. For, being a Bishop, and consequently a Member of the House of Peers, he was still able to appear an eminent opposer of the Dukes, and to do him some considerable mischief; therefore the best Expedient for the Dukes security, was, to interdict him with the Earls of Somerset, Middlesex, Briston, (all of an inclination, though not all of a plume) the Parliament house; which was now done accordingly.

On the 6. of this February the Parliament met, the Commons | The Parliabegan their work, where they last broke off at Oxford, making ment meet. Religion their first, which was their superlative care, and recollecting what a full and fatisfactory Answer the King gave to their Petition against Recusants, and his Commission issued out in pursuance of that Answer, appointed a Committee for Religion, impow'ring them, strictly to examine what abuses of his Majesties Grace had occur'd fince that time, who were

the Authors and Abettors of those Abuses. Mean while, the Lords had formed an Addresse to the King, Apendon from concerning a Grievance to their own Order, represented the Lords. thus:

The Reign of King Charles.

23

1625.

An. Christi 1625.

## To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

In all Humility,

Heweth unto your most Excellent Majesty, your ever Loyall Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, now in Parliament assembled;

That, whereas the Peers and Nobility of this your Kingdome of England, have heretofore (in civility) yielded, as to strangers, precedency, according to their several degrees, unto such Nobles of Scotland and Ireland, as being in Titles above them, have re-Corted hither.

Now divers of the Natural-torn Subjects of this Kingdome, refident here with their Families, and having their chief Estates among us; do, by reason of some late created Dignities, in those Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland, claim precedency of the Peers of this Realm, which tends both to the dif-fervice of your Majesty, and these Realms; and to the great disparagement of the English Nobility, as by these Reasons may appear:

1. It is a novelty without precedent, That men should inherit Honours, where they poffeffe nothing elfe.

2. It is injurious to those Countries, from whence their Titles are derived, that any should have Vote in Parliament, where they have not a foot of Land.

3. It is a grievance to the Countrey where they inhabit, that men possessing very large Fortunes and Estates, should by reason of forrain Titles be exempted from those services of Trust and Charge, which, through their default, become greater pre gures upon others, who kear the burthen.

4. It is a shame to Nobility, that persons dignified with the Titles of Barons, Vicounts, &c, Should be obnoxious and exposed to arrest, they being in the view of the Law no more then meer Plebeians.

we therefore humbly befeech your Majesty, that you will be pleased, according to the example of the best Princes, and Times, upon consideration of these inconveniences, represented to your Ma jesty, by the nearest Body of Honour to your Majesty, that some course may be taken, and an Order timely settled therein by your Princely wisdom, so as the inconvenience to your Majesty may be prevented, and the prejudice and disparagement of the Peers and Nobility of this Kingdom may be redreffed.

Soon after the prefenting of this Petition (to which the King! An. Christ reply'd, He would take order therein) the Earl of Arundel was committed to the Tower. The cause was a Marriage confummate between his Son the Lord Maltravers, and the eldest Daughter of the late Duke of Lenox, whom the King (being Guardian to them both ) had so far designed to, as he had concluded the March with the Earl of Argiles Heir, the Lord of Lorn, (who was brought up in England in the Protestant Religion) meditating thereby a Reconciliation of those two Families, who had for many years been at deadly feud. The Earl asked his Majeflies pardon, protesting himself no way privy to the Plot, and that it was acted between the Dutchels of Lenov, and his own Countefinin a clandestine way.

But this commitment of the Earl-presently moved the House of Peers to exhibit another Petition, representing therein to the King, that it is their undoubted Right | That no Peer, fitting in Parliament, is to be imprisoned withour Order from the House of Peers, unless it be for Treason, Felony, or refusing to give fecurity for the Peace. They had the more reason to urge their priviledge at this time, because the Earl had deputed to him fix Proxies, which would be of no validity during his restraint. Upon this Petition, a great debate arose between the King and Lords, about the priviledge of their House, which lasted from March 14. untill June the 8.

During these things, the House of Commons acted little, being in expectation of some discovery from their Committee, from whom, Mr. Pim, at length, made a report of a Letter written to the Lord Major of rork, for reprieving some Jesuits, Priests, and other Recufants. This Letter being under the Signetsa Sub-Committee was ordered to fearch the Signet Office, and compare it with the Original.

These proceedings inwardly much displeased the King, yet he imothered the indignity for a time, though he after inventory'd it to them amongst his other regrets. And plying his more important Affairs with a most steddy temper, he sent a Message to them by Sir Richard weston, to this effect;

That his Fleet is returned, and their villuals spent, the men must of necessity be discharged, and their wages paid them, or else mutiny will follow, which may be of dangerous confequence.

That he hash in readiness about 40. Ships to be set forth upon a second services which mant a present supply of moneys.

That the Armies quartered on the Coasts, want victuals and cloaths, and they will disband, if not furnished.

The Companies of Ircland lately fent, must speedily be provided for, Ife they may be subject to rebell.

The King demands fupply.

Lastly.

Soon

The Reign of King Charles:

24

An. Christi 1625.

Lastly, the Season for providing healthful vietual will be past, if this moneth of March be suffered negligently to elapse.

And therefore he defired to know, without more ado, what present supply he must depend upon from them, that accordingly he might shape vis course.

Mr. coke and their bold Speech.

In stead of a supply to his Message, Mr. Clement Coke ( Son to Sir Edward Coke) a Member of the House of Commons, let fly this Reply; It is better to die by a forein Enemy, then to be destroyed at home. And, as if the Prerogative had not been sufficiently alarum'd by that expression, one Turner, a Doctor of Physick, reassaults it, in these six Queries.

I. Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas, fince the Duke became Admiral?

2. Whether his going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success ?

3. Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense liberality ?

4. Whether he hash not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his kindred to unfit places ?

5. Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature?

6. Whether Recufants have not dependence upon his Mother and Father-in-law >

The King requires fatisfa-

This was uncouth language to a Princes ears; but who can expect, that in so vast a body, and mass of men, all parcels should take salt alike, and that no part should have rancidity in it > Yet, aperhaps, this clamor and noise might be the rude. ness of some few, new admitted into that great School of Wisdome, the greater part continuing (it's possible) sincere, and loyall; therefore the King fends Sir Richard weston to them, requiring satisfaction. But the House was slower in the work, then was agreeable to his Majesties mind, so intent upon some severe proceedings against them: upon this, he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord Keeper, his proper Speaker, thus conveys his displeasure to them.

By the Lord Keeper.

His Speech.

"My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the "House of Commons, His Majesties Command hath summoned "you hither, and the same Command hath put me upon the " service of fightfying his Will to you. His Will was, that " both Houses should be called together; you, my Lords, as wit-" nesses of the Justice of his Resolutions, and of this Address to " the House of Commons.

"His Majesty would have you know, there never was King, who better loved his People, or was more fincerely affected " towards the right use of Parliaments, or more ready to re-

e drefs what shall be represented unto him in the quality of, An. Christi "Grievance; provided, it be a regular and decent way, than "Himself: but he would also have you know, that, as he loves "his People, so he regards his Honour; and if he be sensible of chis Subjects Grievances, of his own he is much more, espe-"cially when they flow from Offences of fuch a nature, as not "onely blast his Reputation, but impede the progress of his "weighty Affairs. To come to Particulars.

"His Majesty saith, That, whereas Mr. Coke spake very sediti-" ous words in your House, he was so far from being questio-"ned or censured for them by you, as Dr. Turner (animated with the same spirit) made them his Introduction to certain "Articles of Inquiry of as unfavoury a condition, pretended cagainst the Duke, but, in truth, libelling his Majesties Govern-" ment. And though his Majesty did not onely by Sir Richard "weston, but in his own person declare his just displeasure, and " demanded Justice against those Exorbitants; yet have you " nor onely halted in your obedience to him, but have followed "the very steps of Dr. Turner; and, upon false-bottom'd sugge-"flions ende avoured to distain his Own and Fathers honour.

"He also complaineth, that you have taken upon you to "fearch his Signet-Office, and to examine the Letters of his "Secretary of State, leaving him nothing free from their disco-" very : a thing not formerly practifed.

"As concerning the Duke, whom you feem to perfecute with " such asperity of disgust. I am also commanded to tell you, that "his Majesty knows (none better) he acted nothing of Publique " Employment, without his special Warrant; that he hath dis-" charged his Trust with abundant both care and sidelity; that "he merited that Trust, both from his now Majesty, and his late "Father, by his personal hazard, both at home and abroad: " And that fince his return from Spain, he hath been fedulous " in promoving the service and contentment of your House. It " is therefore his express Command, that you absolutely desist "from such unparliamentary disquisitions, and resign the Re-"formation of what is amiss to his Majesties Care, Wisdome, " and Justice.

"I am also to speak about the business of supply; you have " been made acquainted with the posture of his Majesties Af-"fairs, both Forein and Domestique, and with his necessitous "condition; the charge of all Martial Preparations, both by Sea and Land, harh been calculated to you, and you promised "a supply both speedy and sutable to his occasions; but his "Majesty complaineth, that as yet, you have performed neither, " failing both in the measure, and in the manner. In the mea-" fure, by granting onely three Subfidies, and three fifteens; a

1625.

Pha Nings A1205 18

An, Christi, 1" proportion valtly thort of what is requifite. In the manner, "being both dilatory and dishon rable to the King, as arguing "distrust of him; for you have ordered the Bill not to be "brought into the House, untill your Grievances be both heard and answered: which is such a tacite condition, as his Majeof fty will not admit of.

cc Therefore his Majesty commands you to take it into your " speedy consideration, and to return your final Answer by Sace turday next, what further Addition you will make; and if " your Supplies commensurate and equal the demands of the " Cause, he promiseth to continue this Session to your just con-"tent, else he must and will entertain thoughts of your dismissi-

" Lastly, I am commanded to tell you, that his Majelty doth onot charge these Distempers upon the whole Body, and As-"fembly of the Houfe; but as he is confident, the greater num-"ber are persons of a more quiet dispose, so he hopeth their inof fluence, and this his Majesties admonition will prevent the ce like for the time to come.

The Lord Keeper having ended, the King faid,

The Kings Speech.

I must withall put you in minde of times past 3 you may remember my Father moved by your counsel, and won by your perswasions, brake the Treaties; in these perswasions, I was your instrument towards him, and I was plad to be instrumental in any thing, which might please the whole Body of the Realm: nor was there any then in greater favour with you, then this man, whom you now fo traduce. And now when you find me so sure intangled in war, as I have no honourable and safe retreat, you make my necessity your priviledge, and set what rate you please upon your Supplies: a practice not very obliging towards Kings. Mr. Coke told you, It was better to dye by a forain Enemy, then to be destroyed at home. Indeed, I think it is more honourable for a King to be invaded, and almost destroyed by a forain Enemy, then to be despised at home.

The Commons nothing moved with these tart and vinacre expressions, kept close to their proper stations; and, by way of Remonstrance, reply'd,

The Commons Reply.

That, with extream joy and comfort, they acknowledge the favour of hit Majesties most gracious expressions of affection to his People, and this present Parliament.

That, concerning Mr. Coke, true it is, he let fall some few words which might admit an ill construction, and that the House was difpleased therewith as they declared by a general check; and though Mr.

Coke's explanation of his mind more clearly, and Jomewhat abate TAn. Christi the offence of the House; yet were they resolved to take it into further consideration, and so have done; the effect whereof had appeared ere this had they not been interrupted by this his Majefties Meffage; and the like interruption befell them also in the business of Doctor Turner.

As concerning the examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State; as also of his Majestics own, and searching the Signet Office, and other Records; they had done nothing therein, not warranted by the Precedents of former Parliaments upon the like occasions.

That concerning the Duke they did humbly befeech his Majesty to be informed, that it hath been the confrant and undoubted ufage of Parlia. ments, to question and complain of any person of what degree soever; and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it should redound to the honour of the Crown , and safety of the King-

Lastly, As to the matter of Supply; That if addition may be made of other things importing his service, then in consultation amongst them, they were resolved so to supply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, might make him safe at home, and formidable a-Froad

To the Remonstrance, the King answered briefly, That he would have them, in the first place's consult about matters of the greatest importance, and that the, should have time enough for other things afterwards.

But the Parliament accounted nothing of so great importance, as a vigorous proceeding against the Duke: In order to which, all encouragement is given by both Houses, to any who would inform against him. The Earl of Bristow vigilantly listened for this Call; and though one not without sinne; and probably not without the same, yet made hast to throw the first flone at him; presently petitioning the House he might be admitted to prefer an Accufation against him : a Request; as readily granted by the Lords, as tendred by him. The Duke allarm'd with this Petition, plots amain (and high rime) either to divert, or encounter him: He perswades the King to send the Earl a premonitory Letter, framed as a Memorial, minding him of all his milcarriages, relating to the Spanish Treaty, and a Breviate of what became his future Charge; demanding, withall, his positive Answer, whether he would sit still from being questioned for any Errours past in his Spanish Negotiation, and enjoy the benefit of the Pardonsgranted by the late Parliament; or maving the advantage thereof put himself upon a Legal Trial.

An. Christi 1625.

To this the Earl answered, That it became him not as a Subject, o urge a Trial against himself; but if his Majesty should call him to it, he would willingly submit, being confident, his Innocence would mediase for his future favour. As for the Pardon he would not disclaim it, though he was confident, he should not need it for any Crime of Difloyaliy to his Majesty, or Treason against the State. The King perceiving by this Reply, the Earl resolved to persist, commanded the Atturney-General to lummon the Earl to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent, May the 1. Bristow appearing, the Atturney told the Peers, That he came thither, to accuse the Earl of High Ireason: With that the Earl, My Lords I am a Freeman, and a Peer of the Realmunattainted, I have some hat to say of high confequence for his Majesties service, I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speak. The Lords bidding him go on, then said he, I acuse that man, the Duke of Buckingham, of High Treason, and will prove it. The Articles of his Charge were as followeth:

The Earl of Eristen laccu-feth the Duke.

" I. That the Duke did fecretly conspire with the Conde of Gondamar, Ambassadour of Syain, before the said Ambassadors last return into Spain, 1622. to carry his Majesty then Prince into Spain, to the end, he might be enforced, and instanced in the Romish Religion, and thereby have perverted the Prince, 'and subverted the true Religion established in England.

'2. That Mr. Porter was made acquainted therewith, and fent into Spain, and such Message framed at his return, as might ' serve for a ground to set on foot the Conspiracy: which was done accordingly, and thereby both King and Prince highly

' 3. The Duke at his arrival in Spain, nourished the Spanish Ministers not onely in the belief of his own being Popishly given, by absenting himself from all Exercises of our Religion, (then constantly used in the Earl of Bristow's house) and conforming himself to please the Spaniard, by kneeling to, and adoring their Sacraments, but gave them hope also of the Princes conversion; which caused them to propound worse Conditions for Religion, then had been formerly fetled and figned by the Earl of Brifton and Sir Walter Afton.

4. That the Duke did many times, in the presence of the Earl of Briston, move his Majesty, at the instance of the Cande of Gondamar, to write a Letter to the Pope, which the Earl utterly e diffwaded; and that, although during the Earls abode in Engcland, he hindred the writing any fuch Letter; yet the Duke,

after the Earls return, procured it wrote,

5. That the Pope being informed of the Dukes inclination ' in point of Religion, sent him a particular Bull in Parchment, therein perswading him to pervert his Majesty.

6. That

· 6. That the Duke, in Spain, did abute the King of Spain, and An. Confit his Ministers so, as they would not admit of a Reconciliation with him: Whereupon, feeing the Match would be to his cdisadvantage, he endeavoured to break it; not for any service to this Kingdome, nor dillike of it in it felf; nor for that he found, (as fince he hath pretended) that the Spaniard did not really intendit; but our of his particular end and indignaction.

1625.

67. That he intending to cross the Match, made use of Letters of his Majesty, then private to his own ends, and not to what they were intended; as also concealed many things of great importance from his late Majesty, thereby overthrowing his Aajesties purposes, and advancing his own ends.

6 8. That, for the foresaid ends, he hath abused both Houses of Parliament, by a finister Relation of the carriage of Affairs, as shall be made appear in every particular of that Relati-

69. That he imployed his Power with the King of Spain, for the procurement of Favours and Offices, which he bestowed supon unworthy Persons, for the recompence and hire of his · lust: which is a great infamy and dishonour to our Nation; that a Duke, a Privy-Councellor and Ambassador, eminent in his Majesties favour, and solely intrusted with the person of the Prince, should leave behind him, in a forein Court, so much scandal by his ill behaviour.

oro. That he hath been a great part the cause of the ruine of the Prince Palatine, and his Estate; in so muchas those Af-

fairs concern this Kingdome.

' 11. That he hath in his Relation to both Houses of Parliament, wronged the Earl of Briston in his Honour, by many fini-

fer afpersions.

c 12. Lastly, that the Earl of Bristow did reveal to his late Majesty, both by Word and Letter, in what fort the Duke had mif-demeaned himself, and abused his Trust and the King by several ways sent him word, he should rest assured, that he would hear the faid Earl in due time ; and that four days before his sickness, he signified to the Barl, that he would hear him against the Duke, as well as he had heard the Duke against him. And not long after the King died, having been much vexed and pressed with the said Duke.

When the Earl had ended his Charge, up starts no upstart Lord, Is this all (faid he) you have to fay against the Duke & The Lord Spencer. Earl replyed, res my Lord, and I am forry it is so much. Then quoth the Lord spencer, if this be all, Ridiculus Mus ! and fo far down igain.

An. Christi 1625.

Upon this, a crotchet took the Lord Cromvel in the Crown, and our he goes to Mr. Richard Spencer, a younger Son of that Lord, and a great Zelot in the Lower-House, against the Duke: Dick, said he, what is done in your House to day against the Duke? My Lord, (laid he) he is charged with no less then High-Treason. Tush Dick, quoth the Lord, High-Treason! if this be all, Ridiculus · Mus !

This high and daring Challenge by the Earl, prompted the Atturney to speed his Accusation against him; which having model'd into eleven Articles, he brought in the next day: they were, in substance these:

Articles against the Earl of Briflow.

First, That the faid Earl being imployed by the late King James, as his Ambassadour unto Ferdinando, Emperour of Germany; and unto Philip, the 4th. King of Spain, in the years 1621, 1622, and 1623, with Commission to treat with them, for the plenary restitution of the Palatinate to the Count Palatine, who married the Lady Elizabeth, the onely Daughter of his late Majesty; and also to treat with the King of Spain, for a Marriage to be had, between his now Majesty, then Prince of wales, and the Lady Donna Maria the Infanta of Spain; did falfly, trayteroufly, and confidently inform the late King, by fundry Letters, That the faid Emperour, and King of Spain, would really make restitution of the Dominions, and Electoral Dignity of the said Count Palatine; and that the said King of Spain did really intend the Marriage aforesaid: Whereas, in truth, the said Emperour and King, or either of them, never really intended such Restitution, and the King of Spain never intended the faid Marriage, whereof the Earl could not be ignorant; whereby the Dominions, and Electoral Dignity aforesaid, were utterly lost.

Secondly, That the faid Earl having received from his late Majelty particular Directions, to put the King of Spain to a specdy and punctual Answer, touching the Treaties aforesaid, did nevertheless continue those Treaties upon Generalities without effectual pressing the King of Spain to particular Conclusions, futable to his Instructions

Thirdly, that the faid Earl, to the intent, to discourage the late King from taking up of Arms, or entring into Hostility with the faid King of Spain, did many times, both by word and Letters to him, and his Ministers, extoll the greatnesse and power of the King of Spain, and did cunningly strive to retard the late Kings Refolutions of declaring himfelf an Enemy to the King of Spain.

Fourthly

Fourthly, That the faid Earl, being told, upon his dispatch du Christi out of this Realm, that there was little probability, that these Treaties would have any good successe, he then replyed; He cared not what the successe thereof would be at for he would take care to have his Instructions perfect, and to pursue them pundly ally; and honfoever the bufineffe went, he would make his Fortunes there-

Fifthly, that the faid Earl, on purpose to advance the Romish Religion, did(during the time aforefaid) often by Letters, and otherwise, counsel and perswade his late Majesty, to set at liberty Jesuits and Priests of the Romish Religion, which were imprisoned according to the Laws of the Land, and to grant

the Papists a Toleration of their Religion.

Sixthly, That by the faid Earls false Informations, and Intelligences given to the late King, and his now Majelly, then Prince, they were put into hopes; and, by long delays; they were put into jealousies, concerning the said Treaties, that there was not that fincerity in them which they expected: Whereupon the faid Prince, his now Majesty, was enforced to undertake in his own person, a long and dangerous sourney into spain, intending, either speedily to conclude the said Treaties, or to discover the feigued Intentions of the Emperour, and King of Spain; and thereupon to dissolve them. By which Journey, the Perfon of the said Prince; and, in Him, the peace and safety of this Kingdome was brought into apparent danger.

Seventhly, That at the Prince his first coming to the said Earl in Spain, he asked the Prince, For what he came thither ? The Prince, at first, not conceiving the Earl's meaning, answered, rouknow as well as I. The Earl reply'd ; Sir, Give me leave to tell you, they say here in Madrid, that you mean to change your Religion; and added further, Sir, I do not speak this, that I will persuade you to it, or that I will promise to follow your example, though you do it; but, as your faithful servant; if you will trust me with so great a secret, I will endeavour to carry it in the secretest may I can. At which, the Prince being moved, said unto him, I wonder what you have ever found in me, that you should conceive I would be so base, as for a wife to change my Religion? The Earl replying, defired the Prince to pardon him, if he had offended him, faying, It was but out of his desire to serve him: Whereas, it had been the duty of a faithful servant to God and his Master, to have disswaded the Prince from it, nad he found him staggering in his Religion.

Eighthly, That he afterward having Conference with the Prince about the Romish Religion, trayterously endeavoured to perswade him to turn Romith Catholique, using an Argument to that end, That the State of England never did, nor could possilly do any great thing but when obedient to the Pope of Rome.

Ninthly.

An. Christi 1625:

Ninthly, that during the time aforefaid, the Prince adviting with the Earl, about a new Offer by the King of Spain, That the Prince Palatine Should marry the Emperours Daughter, be brought up in his Court, and so should be restored to the Palatinate, The Earl said, It was a reasonable Proposition: And when the danger of changing his Religion was objected, the Earl replyed, That without some such great Ast, the Peace of Christendome could never be pro-

Tenthly, That the Prince departing from Spain, and leaving the Powers of Disposorios, with the faid Earl, to be delivered upon the return of his Dispensation from Rome; the Prince (fearing lest after the Dispensation, the Infanta might be put into a Monastery) wrote a Letter back to the Earl, commanding him, not to make use of those Powers, untill he could give him assurance, that a Monastery should not rob him of his Wife: which Letter, the Earl receiving, returned an Answer, diffwading that Direction. Shortly after which, the Prince fent another Letter, discharging him of his former Command. But his late Majesty, by the same Messenger, see thim a more express Direction, Not to deliver the Disposorios, untill a full conclusion had concerning the Palatinate; adding this expression, That he would never joy to marry his Son, and to leave his onely Daughter weeping. In which Dispatch, though there was some mistake; yet, in the next following, it was corrected, and the Earl tied to his former Restrictions, which he promised punctually to observe: Nevertheless, contrary to his Duty and Allegeance, he after fet a day for the Disposorios, without any affurance, or fo much as treating of those things to which he was restrained; and that so short a day, that if extraordinary diligence, with good successe in the Journey, had not concurred, the Princes hands might have been bound up, and yet he never fure of a Wife, nor the Prince Palatine of Restitution.

Lastly, that in an high and contemptuous manner, he hath preferred a scandalous Petition to this Honourable House, to the dishonour of the late King, and his now Majesty; especially one Article of that Petition, wherein he gives his now Majesty the Lye, by denying, and offering to falfifie, what his Majesty had affirmed.

Many good men were paifing jocund at this Contest; observing, That whilest, between these Grandees, mutual malice brake out, Truth came to her own. Between men at odds, there never feemed an evener Match; the Earl had it's true, the better Head; but the Duke the better Back; but which was the better man, few standers by could determine; so equally did each Accusation ballance the other: But the Duke had yet, as

a Nobler Advertary; to a hercer Conflict to undergo: For An. Christi thortly after, the Commons having digested their Impeachment against Him, into 13. Heads, on the 8 of the same moneth presented it to the Lords.

This weighty Cause was managed by fix Gentlemen, Mr. Glantil.Mr. Herbert, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pim, Mr. Wansford, Mr. Sherlander to whom was added Sir Dudley Diggs, as Foreman and Prolocutor, and Sir John Elliot to bring up the Rear.

Sir Dudly Diggs his Prologue, for the extraordinary elegancy of the frame, and concinnels of his metaphors, I shall crave leave to infert, as it was delivered to the Lords, before the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, did present the 13, grievances, expresly this.

Aly Lords,

THere are so many things of great importance to be said in The commons very little time this day, that I conceive it will not be unac- Impeachment ceptable to your Lordships, if (setting by all Rhetorical affe- Duke, stations) I onely in plain Countrey language, humbly pray vour Lordships favour to include many excuses, necessary to my manifold infirmities, in this one word; I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeffes of the Commons house, to present unto your Lordships their most affectionate thanks for your ready condescending to this Conference; which, out of confidence in your great wildomes, and approved Justice for the service of his Majesty, and the welfare of this Realm, they defired upon this occasion.

The House of Commons, by a fatal and universal concurrence of complaints, from all the Sea-bordering parts of this Kingdome, did find a great and grievous interruption and stop of Trade and Traffique. The base Pirats of Sally ignominiously infesting our Coasts, taking our thips and goods, and leading away the Subjects of this Kingdom into barbarous Captivity while, to our thanie, and hinderance of Commerce, our enemies did (as it were) beliege our Ports, and block up our best Rivers mouthes; our Friends, on flight pretences, made embargoes of our Merchants goods, and every Nation (upon the least occasion) was ready to contemn and flight us : So great was the apparent diminution of the ancient honour of this Crown, and once strong reputation of our Nation. Wherewith the Commons were more troubled, calling to remembrance, how, formerly in France, in Spain, in Holland, and every where by Sea and Land, the Valours of this Kingdome had been better valued; and even in latter times, within remembrance, when we had no Alliance with France, none in Denmark, none in Ger-

1626

1626. 

An. Christi \ many : no Friend in Italy; Scotland, to fay no more, ununited ; Ireland not fetled in peace, and much leffe fecurity at home; when Spain was as ambitious as it is now, under a King (Philip the second ) they called their wisest, the House of Austria as great and potent, and both strengthened with a malicious League in France, of persons ill-affected, when the Low-countreys had no being; yet by constant counsels, and old English ways, even then that Spanish pride was cool'd, that greatnesse of the house of Austria, so formidable to us now, was well resi-Red; and to the United Provinces of the Low-Countreys, fuch a beginning growth and strength was given, as gave us honour over all the Christian World. The Commons therefore wondring at the Evils which they suffered, debating of the Causes of them, found they were many, drawn like one Line to one Circumference of decay of Trade, and strength of Honour, and of Reputation in this kingdome; which, as in one Centre, met in one great man, the Caule of all, whom I am here to name, the Duke of Buckingham.

> Here Sir Dudly Diggs made a stand , as wondring to see the Duke present: Tet he took the Roll, and read the Preamble to the Charge, with the Duke's long Titles; and then went on,

My Lords,

This lofty Title of this mighty Man, me thinks, doth raise my spirits to speak with a Paulo majora canamus; and let it not displease your Lordships, if, for foundation, I compare the beautiful Structure and fair composition of this Monarchy, wherein we live, to the great Work of God, the World it self; in which the folid body of incorporated Earth and Sea, as I conceive, in regard of our Husbandry, Manufactures, and Commerce by Land and Seasmay well refemble us the Commons. And, as it is encompassed with Air, and Fire, and Spheres Celestiall of of Planets, and a Firmament of fixed Stars;

All which receive their heat, light, and life, from one great glorious Sun even like the King our Soveraign: So that Firmament of fixed Stars I take to be your Lordships; Those Planets, the great Officers of the Kingdome; That pure Element of Fire, the most religious, zealous, and pious Clergy; And the reverend Judges, Magistrates, and Ministers of Law, and Justice, the Air wherein we breath. All which encompasse round with cherishing comfort this Body of the Commons, who truly labour for them all; and though they be the Foot-stool, and the lowest, yet may well be faid to be the setled Centre of the State.

Now (my good Lords) if that glorious Sun, by his powerful Beams of Grace and Favour, shall draw from the Bowels of

this Earth, an Exhalation that thall take hre, and burn and An. Christi thine out like a Star, it needs not be marvelled at, if the poor Commons gaze and wonder at the Comet; and, when they feel the Effects, impute all to the corruptible matter of it. But if fuch an impersect Meteor appear, like that in the last Age, in the Chair of Cassiopea, among the fixed Stars themselves, where Aristotle, and the old Philotophers, conceived there was no place for such corruption; then, as the learned Mathematicians were troubled to observe the irregular motions, the prodigious magnitude, and the ominous Prognosticks of that Meteor; fo the Commons, when they fee fuch a Blazing-Star, in course so exorbitant, in the Affairs of this Common-wealth; cannot but look up upon it, and for want of Perspectives commend the nearer Examination to your Lordships, who may behold it at a better distance. Such a prodigious Comet, the Commons take this Duke of Buckingham to be against whom, and his irregular ways, there are, by learned Gentlemen, legal Articles of Charge, to be delivered to your Lordships, which I am, generally, first commanded to lay open.

First, the Offices of this Kingdome, that are the eyes, the ears, and the hands of this Common-wealth, these have been engroffed, bought and fold, and many of the greatest of them, holden even in this Duke's own hands, which severally gave in former Ages sufficient content to greatest Favourites, and were work enough for the wifest Counsellors: by means whereof, what strange abuses, what infinite neglects have followed? The Seas have been unguarded, Trade disturbed, Merchants oppressed, their Ships, and even one of the Royal-Navie, by cunning practice, delivered over into forain hands; and, contrary to our good Kings intention, imployed to the prejudice (almost to the ruine) of friends of our own Religion.

Next, Honours, (those most precious Jewels of the Crown) a Treasure inestimable, wherewith your Noble Ancestors (my Lords ) were well rewarded, for eminent and publique service in the Common-wealth at home; for brave exploits abroad, when covered all with dust and bloud, they sweat in service for the honour of this Crown. What back-ways, what by-ways have been by this Duke found out, is too well known to your Lordships; whereas anciently it was the honour of England, (as imong the Romans) the way to the Temple of Honour, was through the Temple of Virtue. But I am commanded to preffe this no further, then to let your Lordships know, one instance may (perhaps) begiven of some one Lord compelled to purchase Honour.

Thirdly,

The Reign of King Charles.

37

1625.

An. Christi 1625.

Thirdly as divers of the Duke's poor kindred have been raifed to great Honours, which have been, and are likely to be more, chargeable and burthenfome to the Crown; fo the Lands and Revenues, and the Treasuries of his Majelly have been intercepted and exhausted by this Duke & his friends, and strangely mis-imployed with strange confusion of the Accompts, and overthrow of the well established ancient Orders of his Majeflies Exchequer.

The last of the Charges which are prepared, will be an injury offered to the person of the late King of blessed memory, who is with God; of which (as your Lordthips may have heard heretofore) you shall anon have farther information. Now upon this occasion, I am commanded by the Commons to take care of the Honour of the King our Soveraign that lives, (long may he live to our comfort, and the good of the Christian world) and also of his blessed Father, who is dead; on whom, to the grief of the Commons, and their great distaste, the Lord Duke did, they conceive, unworthily cast some ill ordure of his own foul ways. Wheras, Scrvants were anciently wont to bear (as in truth they bught) their Masters faults, and not cast their own on them undefervedly. It is well known, the King(who is with God) had the same power, and the same wisdome, before he knew this Duke; yea, and the same affections too, through which (as a good and gracious Master) he advanced and raised some Stars of your Lordships Firmament, in whose hands this exorbitancy of Will, this transcendency of Power, such placing and pifplacing of Officers, fuch irregular running into all by-courses of the Planets, such sole and single managing of the great Affairs of State, was never heard of.

And therefore, onely to the Lord Duke, and his procurement, by mif-informations, these faults, complained of, by the

Commons are to be imputed.

And for our most gracious Soveraign that lives, whose name hath bin used, and may perhaps now be, for the Dukes justification, The Commons know well, that among his Majesties most royall vertues his Piety unto his Father, hath made him a pious Nourither of his Affections ever to this Lord Duke, on whom, out of that confideration, his Majesty hath wrought a kinde of wonder, making Favour hereditary. But the abuse thereof must be the Lord Duke's own. And if there have been any Commands, fuch as were or may be pretended, his mif-informations have procured them; whereas the Laws of England teach us, that Kings cannot command ill or unlawful things when ever they speak, though by their Letters-Patents, or their Seals; if the thing be evil, these Letters Patents are void, and what loever ill

event succeeds, the Executioners of such Commands must every An. Christian answer for them.

Thus, my Lords, in performance of my duty, my weaknesse hath been troubleform unto your Lordships: It is now high time humbly to intreat your pardon, and give way to a learned Gentleman to begin a more particular Charge.

Sir Dudley Diggs his Prologue being ended, the Impeachment it felf of the Commons, was next read; which I shall adjourn a while, being destrous to take the Duke's Defence along with

The Commons having presented this Accusation, presently aster fent a message to the Lords, desiring that the Dake might be committed, declaring, that it did mif-beseem their House to permit a man so deeply impeacht to sit in Councel with them The Court-party, who had nimble Intelligencers, understood this Defign from the very first Result, and plotted, to treat the Commons, with uniform proceedings. For, at that very time, Sir Dudly Diggs, and Sir John Elliot, were fent for out of the House, by two messengers of the Chamber; who, upon their coming forth, shew'd them Warrants for their Commitment to the Tower; but it was refolved by the Judges, that by their restraint, (no reason being given to the House for it) the whole House was arrested, and Remonstrance was made to the King. of their priviledge; whereupon they were released.

The Commons having sped to well, the House of Peers began to claim their immunity, making an Order, that nothing should be transacted in their House, untill the Earl of Arundel were restored: upon which, instantly ensued the Earls postliminati-

on and readmittance.

Popular disgust began now to break in upon the Duke, with fuch a running and sweeping tide, as drew along with it, by way of concomitancy, the Peerage; nor could his new Dependents and Allies keep the Ballance horizontal and even, much leffe sway it; and because his Fate must result from them, and not by weight, but tale, the old trick of the Councel of Trent was thought upon, and a new Summons of Persons, sirm considents of the Duke (as the Lords, Mandevil, Grandison, and Carlton) into the Rowe of Nobles.

But this Project would not take, for the House of Lords found an ancient Order, That no Lords created, sedente Parliamento, shall have Voices during that Session, but onely shall have priviledge of fitting amongst the rest: upon which, their suffrage was excluded.

Sir Dudly Digs and Sir Tohn Elliot committed to the Tower,

The Earl of Arundel difcharged of his Imprisonment

This

The Duke fequestred from the House of Lo.ds.

This gave the Duke a talte (a bitter one) of their Inclinations; so that finding small favour to trust to, he magnanimousy flood upon his Justification. And having moulded his Deence to his contentment, June the 8.he presented it to the Lords, who, upon receipt thereof, fequelired him from fitting any more as a Pecr of the House, untill his cause was determined; whereupon he went away much dejected. To that Defence, as alfo to the Impeachment of the Commons, this place I have affigned for, I hope, no incommodious quarters, where I shall so exlibit them parallel, that the Reader may the better compare, and apply them, as they relate each to other; and, confequently, pass the more differning judgment upon them.

The Commons Impeachment and Declaration against the Duke of Buckingham.

Or the speedy redress of the great Evils and Mischiefs, and of the chief Causes of those Evils and Mischiefs, which this Kingdome of England now grievously suffereth, and of late years hath suffered, and to the honour and fafety of our Soveraign Lord the King, and of his Crown and Dignities, and to the good and welfare of his People; the Commons in this prefent Parliament, by the authority of our faid Soveraign Lord the King affembled, do by this their Bill shew, and declare against George, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, Viscount Villers, Baron

The Reign of King Charles.

of Whaddon; Great Admiral of the An Christi, Kingdomes of England and Ireland, and of the Principality of Wales, and of the Dominions and Ilands of the same. of the Town of Calais, and of the Marches of the same, and of Normandy, Gascoigne, and Guyen; General Governour of the Seas and Ships of the said Kingdomes; Lieutenant General, Admiral, Captain-General and Gouernour of his Majesties Royal-Fleet and Army, lately set forth; Master of the Horses of our Soveraign Lord the King; Lord Warden, Chancellor and Admiral of the Cinque-ports, and of the Members thereof; Constable of Dover Ca-stle; fustice in Eyre of all Forrests and Chases on this side of the River of Trent, Constable of the Castle of Windfor Lieutenant of Middlesex and Buckingham-Shire; Steward and Bayliff of Westminster; Gentleman of His Majesties Bed-chamber, and one of his Maiesties Honourable Privie-Councel, in his Realms, both of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

The Misdemeanours, Misprisions, Offences,

Offences, Crimes, and other matters comprised in the Articles following: And
bim the said Duke do accuse, and impeach
of the said Misdemeanours, Misprisions, Offences, and Crimes.

ARTIC. I.

The Duke's 1. Reply.

His engroffing great

Hat he the faid Duke, being young and unexperienced, hath of late years with exorbitant ambition; and, for his own advantage, procured and engroffed into his own hands, feverall great Offices, both to the danger of the State, and prejudice of that fervice which should have bin performed in them; and to the discouragement of others, who are thereby precluded from fuch hopes, as their virtues, abilities, and publique Imployments might, otherwise have obtained.

II.

By buying! the place of Admiralty.

That in the 16. year of the Reign of the late King, he did give and pay to the then Earl of Nottingham, for the Office of Great Admiral of England, and Ireland, and of the Principality of wales, and Generall Governour of the Seas, and Ships of the faid Kingdomes, and for the furrender of the faid Offices to the intent, the faid Duke might obtain them

Hat his late Majesty ditl of his own Royall Alotion teltow them upon him, and he hopeth, and conceiveth, he may without blame receive, what his tountiful Master conferred upon kim, if the Common-wealth doth not fuffer thereby. Nor is it without precedents that men eminent in the esteem of their Soveraign. have held as great and many Offices as himself. But if it shall be proved, that he fally, or corruptly bath executed those Offices, he is, and will be ready to refign them with his life and fortunes to bis Majesties dispole.

Reply 2.

That the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Admiral, being grown much in years, and finding himself not so fit nor able to perform what appertained to his place as formerly; became an earnest sutor to his late Majesty, to permit him to surrender up his Office; who, at length, being overcome by the Earls many felicitations condescended thereunto; and his late Majesty, at the

to his own use, the fumme of 3000 /. and did also procure for the faid furrender from the late King, an Annuity of 1000 l. per annum, payable to the faid Earl's for which considerations, the said Earl surrendred the faid Office, with his Letters Patents, unto the late King, who granted them to the faid Duke for his life: which is an Offence, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, those Offices so highly concerning the Administration, and Execution of Iustice.

entreaty of others, without thes, Dukes privity, was also personded to confer it upon the Duke, much against his will he being no way experienced in those Affairs: so that the Earl did freely surrender, and the Duke accept the grant of the faid Office, without any the least contract or proviso. But true it is, that his late Mijesty, out of his Royall Bounty did grant to the faid Earl a Pension of 1000 l. per annum, as a Recompence for his former fervice to the Crown ; and allothe Duke himself did freely and voluntarily, with his late Majesties approbation, as an Ar-

gument of his Honourable respects, to so Noble a Predece Sor, fend the Earl three thousand pounds, which he hopeth is not blame-worthy in him.

III.

That he the faid Duke, in the 22, year of the late King, did give and pay unto Edward Lord Zouch, for the Offices of the Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle, the sum of One thousand pounds; and granted also an Annuity of 500 l. per annum, during his life; and that for the confideration aforesaid, the said L. Zouch did furrender his Offices, and Letters Patents, to the late King, who granted them to the said Duke for his life: which Offices (fo highly concerning the Administration of [uftice) the Duke hath ever since held against the Laws of the Land.

Reply 3.

That the Lord Zouch being grown in years, and unfit to manage the Office of the warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; which are, indeed both but one, discovered a willingnesse to surrender it, and made severall Offers thereof to the Duke of Richmond; who, at last, contracted with the said Lord Zouch for his surrender, for the consideration of 1000 1, in money, and 500 l. per annum; and the faid Duke of Richmond being prevented by death, his late Majesty directed the Duke of Buckingham, to go through with the Lord Zouch for it upon the same terms, which he was the willinger to do, by rea-Son he had found by experience, that the Kings service suffered

And Lord Warden of the Cinque

1626

An. Christi 1626.

much through the emulation, difaffection, and contention, ari fing between those two Officers; and he hopeth this Att of his, in acquiring this Office, accompanied with such circumstances, the King also being both privile, and directing it, wil receive a favourable Construction; especially considering, he was altogether unacquainted with any Law to the contrary.

IV.

Reply 4.

Not guarding the Seas.

That he hath neglected the iust execution of those his offices, and violated the Trust reposed in, and committed to him by them; in so much, as through his neglect, the trade of this Kingdome hath been of late much decayed, and the Seas ignominioufly infested with Pirats and Enemies, to the great loss of both Ships and Goods, and limminent danger of this Kingdome.

That the loss happening to the. Kings Subjects by Pirats and Enemies, hath not proceeded through the Dukes default, as is suggested; but because those Pirats ships are built of a mould as fit for flight as for fight; being far too nimble for the Kings Ships. To prevent which inconvenience, for the time to come, there is present order taken for the building of Ships of the Same Shape with those of Dunkirk, and for the Pirats of Sally; that provision is taken either to restrain

by Treaty, or to represse them by sorce, as will give good satisfaction; and this will clearly appear upon proof.

V:

Reply 5.

Stay of the S. Peter of News Heaven.

That, whereas about Alichaelmas last, a Ship called the St. Peter of New-Haven, laden with divers Merchants lewels, and Commodities, to the value of 40000 l. or thereabout, for the proper account of Monsieur de Villeurs, then Governour of New-Haven, was taken by the Ships of his Majesties late Fleet, and brought into the Port of Plymouth, as a Prize, upon probability that the faid Ship or Goods belonged to the Subjects of the King of Spain ; whereupon there was an ar-

That complaint being made on the behalf of some French men at the Councel-Table, concerning the St. Peter, and some other Ships; His Majesty then present did order that the and all other should be released, as were found to belong to any Prince or State in amity with him; provided, they were not fraudulently coloured. And accordingly, this ship was by Sentence in the Admiralty discharged. But within few dayes after, new information came to the Lord Admiral, that this ship was laden by the Subjects of the King of Spain in Spain, that the Amiran-

rest of two English thips at New-Haven in the Kingdome of France: after which, intimation was given to the Advocate in the chief Court of Admiralty, from his Majesty, by Secretary Coke, for the freeing and discharge of the said thip, and goods; and thereupon, by Commission under Seal, the faid thip and goods were released. The said Duke, notwithstanding any such order, and Decree, detained still to his own use, the Gold, Silver, Pearl, Jewels, and other Commodities, so taken out of the faid fhip, and unjustly caused the said ship to be arrested again, in contempt of the Laws of this Land, and to the prejudice of Trade.

Annranteno wafted her beyond the North Cape, and that wit. nelles were ready to attest as much : upon which, the Duke ac. quainted his Majelty therewith. and by his command, made flay o this lip, as he was assured ( la the opinion of the Kings, and five other Advocates) he might do: and command was given to the Kings Advocate, to haften the Examination of Witne Ses, in pursuance of the new information. But the French Merchants, impatient of delayes, which the producing many witnesses would occasion, complained again to the Councel-board, and obtained as. Order from thence, for the delivery of the faid Ship and Goods, upon security; which security was once offered, but after retra. Eled; yet upon consideration of

the testimonies produced, the Kings Advocate informing the Duke that the proof cane fort for that hip, the Dake did instantly give order for her final discharge, and that all her goods (hould be re-imbarqued to the O. pners; which was done accordingly.

VI.

Reply 6.

That the East-India Merchants, in the 21. of the late Kings Reign, preparing to let forth four great thips richly laden in their usuall course of Trade, the Duke moved the Lor Is then affembled in Pariament, to know whether he should make stay of those hips for the service of the state: which motion, being ipproved by the Lords, the Duke accordingly did stay those ships; and after procured a joynt Action to be en-

That the motion in Parliament, about the stay of the East- East-India India ships, was onely upon ap- Fleet. prehension, that they might be Terviceable for the defence of the Realm. That the Action entred in the Court of Admiralty, against the East-India Company, was not after, (as is suggested) but divers moneths before that motion in Parliament; yea, before the Parliament began. That the composition (mentioned in this Article ) was not moved by the Duke, but made by the late King,

And of the

An Cisilli 1526. 

tred in the Court of Admiralty in the name of the late King, and himself, as Lord Admirall, against 15000 li. pretended to be Pyratically sken by fome Capiains of the faid Merchants thips, and in the hands of the faid Captains: and accordingly, an Attachment was icrved upon the faid Merchants. Whereupon the said Merchants being urged to bring in the 15000 L. or to go to Prifon, made new fuit to the Duke, for the release of their thips, who pretending that the Parliament must be moved therein, the Merchants much perplexed, and confidering that they should lose much by unlading their thips, and the loffe of their voyage; refolved to tender to the faid Dake ten thousand pounds for his unjust demand, who by colour of his Office exterted and exacted from them the faid ten thousand pounds; and upon receipt thereof, and nor before, released the faid thirs.

VII.

Leading of Be Varigated marke French.

That the Duke being Great Admiral of England, did by colour of the faid Office, procure one of the principall thips of the Navic-Royal, called the Vant-quard, and lix other Merchants thips of great burthen, to be conveyed over with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Apparel, into the Kingdome of France; and

and shat the Company, without any menaces, or compulsion, agreed to the Composition, as willing to give so much, rather then to abide the hazard of the Suit. That of the fatd fum, all but two Lundred pounds, was imployed by his late Asajesties Officers for the benefit of the Natie. And tally, that thefe ships were not discharged upon payment of the laid sum if ten thousand pounds, lut upon an accommodation allowed, that they bould prepare other thips for his Asajefties fervice, nhilest they went on their Voyage; which accordingly they

Reply 7.

That those Ships mere lent to the French King mithout his pie vity; that when he knew there. of he ded what sapportained to his Office. That he did not by menace or any undue practice by himself or any other deliver those Thips into the hands of the French: that what cerour hath fince happened, was not in the intention any way in wrious to the State, not

did compell the laid Malters prejudicial to the interest of any and Owners of the faid thips, private man. to deliver the faid thips into

An. Christi 1626 

To be im-

Rochel.

ployed against

the possession and command of the French King, and his Ministers, without either sufficient security for their redelivery, or necessary caution in that behalf, contrary to the duty of his Office, and to the apparent weakning of the Naval strength of this Kingdome.

VIII.

Reply 8.

That the Duke, knowing the faid thips were intended to be imployed against the Rochellers, and the Protestants else-where, did compel them as aforefaid, to be delivered unto the faid French King, and his Ministers; to the end, that they might be imployed against those of the Reformed Religion, as accordingly they were; to the prejudice of the faid Religion, contrary to the intention of our Soveraign Lord the King, and to his former promise at Oxford; and to the great scandall of our Nation.

IX.

That he hath enforced some who were rich ( though unwilling) to purchase honours: as the Lord Roberts, Baron of Truro, who was by menaces wrought to pay the fumme of Ten thousand pounds to the said Duke, and to his use, for nis faid Barony.

e sand **X.** dilining That in the 18, year of the lare King, he did procure of the late King, the Office of

That understanding a discovery that those ships should be imployed against Rochel, he endeavoured to divert the course of fuch imployment: and whereas it is alleadged, that he promised atOxford that thefe Sips should not be so imployed, he under favour faith, he was mif-understood, for he onely said, that the event would (hewit, being confident in the promises of the French King, and that he would have really performed what was agreed upon.

Reply 9.

He denieth any such compulsion of the Lord Roberts to buy his honour, and that he can prove, that as the faid Lord did then obtain it by the solicitation of others so was he milling formerly to have given a great sum for it. over itteller i Bank. Frankrikterisk for

Reply to.

That he had not, nor did re- And Offices. ceive any peny of the said sums to his own use, that the Lord Mandevil

Selling of Honours.

An. Christ | High Treasurer of England, to the Vicount Manderil, now Earl of Manchester, for which Office he received of the faid Vicount, to his own use, the ium of 20000 li, of money; and also did procure in the 20. year of the late King, the Office of Mafter of the Wards and Liveries for Sir Lionel Cranfield, afterward Earl of Middlesex; and as a reward for the faid procurement, he had to his own use, of the said Sir Lionel Crandeld, the funi of 6000 1. concrary to the dignity of his late Majesty.

Mandevil was made Lord Treasurer by his late Majesty, without any contract for it; and though his Majesty did after torrow of the faid Lord 20000. pounds, yet was it upon proviso of repayment, for which the Duke at first past his word, and after entred him fecurity by Land, which flood engaged, untill his late Majefly, during the Dakes being in Spain, gave the Lord Satisfaction by Land in Feefarm of a considerable value, whereupon the Duke's Security was returned back. And that the 6000 li. dissuifed by the Earl of Middlefex, was beltowed upon Sir Henry Mildmay by his late

Migefly (without the Dukes privity) who had and enjoyed it all

·XI.

Reply 11.

Procuring honours for his Kindred.

That he hath procured divers Honours for his Kindred and Allies, to the prejudice of the ancient Nobility, and disabling the Crown from rewarding extraordinary virtues in future times.

XII.

Diminishing

the Revenues

of the Crown.

That he procured and obtained of the late King divers Mannors, parcels of the Revenues of the Crown, to an exceeding great value, and hath received, and (to his own use) disbursed great sums of moncy, that did properly belong unto the late King: and the better to colour his doings,

That he believeth he were rather worthily to be condemned in the opinion of all generous minds if being in such favour with his Majetty, be had minded onely his own advancement, and had negleffed those whom the Law of Nature had obliged him to hold most dear.

Reply 12.

That he doth humbly, and with all thankfulnesse, acknowledge his late Majesties bountifull band to him, and Shall be ready to render back into the hands of his now Majesty whatsoever he hath received, together with his life to do him fervice: But for the value suggested in the charge, be fairb there is a great mistake

hath obtained severall privie Seals from his late Majesty, and his Majesty that now is, warranting the payment of great sums of money by him, as if fuch fums were directed for secret service of the State, when as they were difposed of to his own use; and hath gotten into his hands great fums, which were intended by the late King, for the furnishing and victualling of the Navy-Royal, to the exceeding diminution of the Revenues of the Crown, to the deceiving and abusing of his late, and now Majesty, and detriment of the whole kingdome.

Lastly, that he being a fworn fervant of the late King, did cause and provide certain Plaisters and Potions for his late Majesty, in his last sicknesse, without the privity of his Majesties Physicians; and that although those Plaisters and Porions, formerly applied, produced such ill effects, as many of his sworn Physicians did disallow, as prejudiciall to his Majesties health; yet nevertheless did the Duke apply them again to his Majesty; whereupon great distempers, and dangerous symptomes appeared in him, which the Physitians imputed to those administrations of the Dake, whereof his late Majesty also complained: which was an offence and mildemeanour of so high a nature, as may be called an

in the calculation, as he Shall, An Christi. make evident in a Schedule annexed, to which he referreth him-Self. Nor did he obtain the same by any undue folicitation or pra-Hice, nor yet a Release for any Cums so received. But having feveral times, and upon severall occasions, disposed divers sums of bis late, and now Majesty, by their private directions, be bath Releafes thereof for his discharge, which was honourable in them to grant, and not unfit for him to delive and accept, for his future indemnity.

Reply 13.

That his late Majesty being His applying sick of an Ague, a disease out of Physick to K. which the Duke recovered not fames. long before asked the Duke what he found most advantageous to his health; the Duke replaced, a Plaister and Po Set-drink, ad-

ministred to him by the Earl of Warwick's Phylician ; whereupon the King much desired the Plaister and Posset-drink to be Sent for. And the Duke delaying it, he commanded a servant of the Dukes to go for it, against the Dearnest request he humbly craving his Majesty not to make use of it, without the advice of his own Phylicians, and experiment upon others , which the King faid he would do, and in confidence thereof the Duke left him,

and went to London. And

in the mean time, he being ab-

fent the faid Plaister and Posset

1626. S

drink were brought; and at the

The Reign of King Charles.

.1626.

galylyga Ji er mul

An. Curifit 1 act of transcendent prefumption. And the faid Commons by Protestation, faving to enemfelves the liberties of exhibiting hereafter any other acculation or impeachment against the Duke, and also of replying unto what the Duke shall answer unto the faid Article do pray that the faid Duke may be put to answer all and every the premises, and that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, and Judgments, may be upon every of them had, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

Dukes return, his Majetty commanded the Duke to give him the Poffet-drink; which he did, the Physitians, then present, not seeming to mislike it. Afterward the Kings health declining, and the Duke hearing a rumour, as if his Phylick had done his Majestie hurt, and that he had administred Physick without advice; the Duke acquainted the King therewith, who in much discontent replyed, They are worse then Devils that say

This being the plain, clear, and evident truth of all those things which are contained in that Charge, He humbly referreth it to the judgments of your Lordships, how full of danger and prejudice it is, to give too ready an ear, and too easie a belief unto a Report or Testimony, without Oath, which are not of weight enough to condemn any.

Also, he humbly acknowledgeth, how easie it was for him in his young ears, and unexperienced, to fall into thousands of errours in those ten years, wherein he had the honour to serve so

great, and so open hearted a Soveraign Master.

But the fear of Almighty God, his fincerity in the true Religion established in the Church of England, (though accompanied with many weaknesses and impersections, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confesse) his awfulnesse not willing to offend so good and gracious a Master, and his love and duty to his Countrey, have restrained and preserved him (he hopeth) from running into any heinous misdemeanours and

But whatfoever upon examination and mature deliberation, they shall appear to be, lest in any thing unwittingly, within the compasse of so many years, he shall have offended:

He humbly prayeth your Lordships, not onely in those, but to all the said misdemeanours, misprisions, offences, and crimes where-

wherewith he standeth charged before An. Christ. your Lordship's, to allow unto him the benefit of the free and general Pardon, granted by his late Majesty in Parliament, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, out of which he is not eccepted. And also, of the gracious Pardon of his now Majesty to the said Duke; and vouchsafed, in like manner, to all his Subjects, at the time of his most happy Inauguration and Coronation; which said Pardon, under the Great Seal of England, and granted to the said Duke, beareth date the tenth day of February now last past, and so here shewed forth unto your Lordships, on which he doth humblyrelie.

And yet he hopeth, that your Lordships in your fustice and Honour (upon which considence he putteth himself) will acquit him of, and from those misdemeanours, offences, misprisions, and crimes wherewith he hath been charged.

And he hopeth, and will daily pray, that, for the future, he hall by Gods grace so vvatch all his actions, both publike and private, that he shall not give any just offence to any.

An. Christi 1626.

This Answer of the Duke, to his Impeachment, was a kind of new grievance to his Adverlaries; for it being contrived, and fo inlay'd with modesty and humility, it was like to have a powerful influence towards the Convertion of many, who expetered a defence of another and more disdainful spirit. Again, it seemed to state him in impunity; and the Commons having charged him, as they thought, through and through, loath they were to fall short of Victory; and having pursued him with fuch vehemency, thought themselves worsted, should he now at last make a saving Game of it, therefore resolved they were to ply him with a speedy Reply : But while they were hammering of it, the King fent them a Letter, demanding, without further delay, the fpeedy producing of their Bill of Subfidy to be passed: To which, to prevent their dissolution, they conformed. But first, they had drawn up a Declaration, of the same make and mind with their former Impeachment, of the miferable state of this Kingdome; and not without some high contest, it was allowed by the House, before the Bill of Subsidy. Whereupon his Majesty was so exceedingly incensed, as on the very rext day, being June the 15. he distolved the Assembly, though the Lords sent four of their House unto him, beseeching him earnestly he would permit them to sit but two dayes longer; but he answered, Not a minute.

The Parliament diffolved.

Aru ndel and Briffow confined.

The same Asternoon the Earl of Briston, the Dukes grand Persecutor, was committed to the Tower, and the Earl of Arundel confined to his own house. There came also forth, from his Majesty, a Proclamation, for burning of all Copies of the Commons Declaration, made before the Parliaments dissolution.

The King charged with imprudence.

This Rupture of the Parliament, being supposed to issue from the kings great Affection to the Duke, I finde him charged with Deep Imprudence, and high over-fight, to hazard the love of millions for him onely.

The Charge Answered.

Loath Lam to leave him as I finde him and hope this sugged imprudence with ither totally disappear, or seem much sted inprudence we wither totally disappear, or seem much less if we well we whose high obligations all Princes have, and what he had more then many others; to uphold their Fa-

Mr is, and ever was, the perpetual Lot of those who are of choisest admission into Princes savours to seel as strong Strokes of Envie and Ill-will from beneath, as they do Strokings of Grace and Favour from above; whereby they suffer a kind of Persecution, it being the main businesse

businesse of those who maligne them, to be narrow Inquisitors ( An. Christie into all their Actions, ready to aggravate the worst, and to traduce the best; nor scape they so, but over and besides their proper failings, they usually bear the blame and odium of their Masters faults: upon which Consideration, Princes are in some fort tyed in equity to support them, thereby to compensate and make them some amends for what despight they endure upon the skore of their affection to them. Again, should a King defert and abandon a fervant of fuch choice effeem, upon every flight fuggestion, what can he expect, but a generall backsliding of affection and fidelity from him, and an utter declining of his fervice ever after? These are motives of generall concernment; over and besides which, King Charles had others of more peculiar relation. He did not differn any thing in the accriminations of so horrid import, as might blemish his owning him. His accumulated Offices and Honours, he reputed so far from an offence, as he could scarce think them an errour; and he believed hardly one of a million would have declined, or refifted the temptation of those Royal Tenders, had they been in the Dukes case. And, for his study to advance his neer Relations, he might most worthily have been counted a Monster, and an extravagancy in Nature, had he cast off all regard of those, to whom he was by consanguinity so near annexed.

Lastly, his Majesty took notice, that in all those 13. Articles of Impeachment, there was not any thing of value, but what was acted and happened in the Reign of his late Father, and consequently, not legally cognoscible in his time: Nor did he think it forted with his Honour, to admit an Acculation against a Person so dear, both to his Father of blessed memory, and himself, after so many years elapsed; especially considering, that fince the time of his pretended Delinquency, he was honoured by many of his now Accusers, with the acclamation of the Preserver of his Countrey, and that in open Parliament; so odd a turn of passion is there in the minds of men.

These were the inducements which fixt the King so much in the Dukes Protection, which are here delivered out of a defire to expunge that blemith of Imprudence thrown upon his Majesty, not as a Concession of his dissolving the Parliament upon the account of that Protection onely; for the King had other Provocations, which stimulated him also to it. Those Queries of Dr. Turner, and that expression of Mr. Coke, the King resented as infolent, and so represented them to the Parliament; very hot they were of the Spice, and had more Pepper then Salt in them.

1626.

An.Christi, 1626.

In subconsulary Rome, Athens, or Sparia, they might have bin tolerated; but in a State founded upon the Administration of Monarchy, those small sparks of Animosity, had fire enough in them to kindle and inflame the anger of a mild Prince: for nothing irritateth and causeth the wrath of Kings more then disrespect; as nothing gives them splendor and brightnesse but Authority, whereof if Soveraignty be once dismantled, once stript, the is soon trampled upon, scorned and contemned : And though those speeches did not take their aim directly at his Majesty, yet did they by-glance and obliquely deeply wound him. They that make Princes minions the But or Mark of their Accusations, had need have a very steady hand; for it is very difficult to afperfe persons so near the Throne, but some drops will sprinkle upon Majesty it self. Nor had those difordered heats power enough of themselves, to operate so sad an effect, had they not been feconded by a Declaration of the whole House, of the same meal, and leaven'd with Language of equal difgust to the King.

A strange spe-Cacle upon the Thanes.

On the Munday before this dolefull difaster, there happened a terrible and prodigious spectacle upon the Thames. The water near Lambeth-Marsh began about three of the clock in the afternoon to be very turbulent; and, after a while, rifing like a mist, it appeared in a circular form of about ten yards diameter, and about ten foot elevated from the River. This Catarract, or Spout of Waters, was carried impetuously crosse the River, and made a very furious Assault upon the Garden walls of Tork house (where the Duke was then building his new Water stairs ) at length, after a fierce Attempt, it brake asunder, fending up a fuliginous and dusky smoak, like that issuing out of a Brewers Chimney, which afcended as high, as was well discernible, and so vanisht. And at that very instant, there was in the City of London, fo dreadfull a storm of Rain and Hail, with Thunder and Lightening, as a great part of the Church-yard Walls of St. Andrews Church in Holborn fell down; and divers Graves being thereby discovered, many Coffins tumbled into the middle of the Channel.

Difference between Eng land and France.

Not many days after, occurr'd another fight leffe terrible, not lesse strange to the Beholders; and the more strange, because relating to Letters, it happened so great a Scene of Learning, as an Academy. For on the 23.0f this moneth, a Cod-fifth brought from Lin-Regis in Norfolk, to Can-bridge-marker, and there exposed to sale, the Woman who bought it, as the fathion is,ript it up, intending to cast away the bowels; but in the maw thereof, the fpy'd fomething, the knew not what, wrapt up in Canvasse; this bred the curiosity of a surther search whereupon she unfolds the Canvasse, and discovers a Book in

Sixteens contained therein; comprehending three Treaties, An. Christ compiled by the Bleffed Martyr Mr. John Frith, who suffered, Anno 1533, the Cover and Verges of the Leaves (an infallible Argument against Imposture) being much decocted, digested and wasted in the Maw.

1626.

It will not be amisse now to crosse the Seas, and to take a view of our Kings Affairs, which began to be fullen, of an uniform, and not much differing complexion from those at home, many Indications and Overtures of discontent emerging between himself, and his chief Confederate and Brother Lewis of France, whereby the former Amity, notwith standing many Lenivives applyed, was enforced at length to yield to direct hostility. In the provocation, Lewis was the first; Charles, in the quar-

rel. The leading occasion, this,

During the late Treaty of Marriage between England and Seven English France, Lewis precending a Martial Design against Italy, and the this sent to Validing converted and obtained of King James the Loan of the Valioline, entreated and obtained of King James the Loan of the Vantguard, a parcel of the Navy-Royall, and (with the Owners consent) of fix Merchants ships more. But it being rumour'd, that Lewis intended these ships against Rochel, then revolted from him, King James ( who refolved to preferve himself Neuter in that businesse, liking the Rasbellers Religion too well to offend them, and their Cause too ill to protect them) put in expresse caution, that those ships should not be imployed against the Rochellers. But before their ships put forth to Sea (foon after King James died ) Lemes and the Rochellers (at the instance of King Charles by his two Ambassadors, the Earl of Holland, and Sir Dudley Carlton ) came to an accord. This Pacification gave Lewes advantage of enterprising upon the Valteline with greater, both Power and Expedition; and invited Charles to dispatch the English thips for France: But no sooner arrived they at their Port, then that Nest of Wasps at Rochell began to infest King Lewes again, for Subize, (upon pretence that the King had not kept touch with them in flighting Fort-Lewes) following his old Trade, took the opportunity of the advance of the Frenchi Army for Italy, and a l'improviste, before they were aware, surprised the Isle of Rhe, then incuriously guarded (fo in-secure did overmuch security make them ) seised many ships in the Harbour, and bad fair for the taking of Fort-Leves, had not the Duke of Veadofme posted thither with relief. Leves finding them of the Revolt, lapted into their wonted infolency, began to rouse amain, put to Sea all the ships he could procure, fends to the Dutch for Naval Aid, and demanded of Captain pennington the delivery of the English ships, agreeable to his Masters Promise: The Captain replyed, He took no notice of any such Promise, nor of any other Agreement with the King bis

1626.

Milapplyed to

the offence at

Rochel.

An. Christi Malter, then of taking in a chief Commander, and a competent number of Souldiers, not superiour to the English, and to go upon such imployment, as his Christian Majesty should direct, which he said he was ready to do : but to deliver up the Ships, without expresse Order from bis Muster, were a presumptuous, yea, a treasonable act in him.

The King of France perceiving the Captain fo incompliant courted and tempted him with ample promifes of advancement, and the proffer of large sums of ready money; and sinding him still intractable, he proceeded to protest against him as a Traytor to his King; which Protest, so irritated and urged the English Sea-men, then under his Command, as they instantly, in a fury, weighed Anchor, and fet fail for the Downs: from whence, the Captain fending to our King, for a further fignification of his pleasure; his Majesty rather willing to submit to the hazard of Lewes his breach of Faith, then to the blame of receding from his own pollicitation, returned answer, that His will was that he should configuup his own, and the fix Merchant ships

to the service of his Brother.

This Order foon elicited obedience in Captain Penington, and the residue, so as they all rendred up their charge to the French. With the Conjunction of these seven English, and a Squadron of twenty Dutch, under the Command of Admiral Halftein, with his own Navy, conducted by Montmorency, Lemes brake furiously in upon Subize the Staffarch, the chief Rebel, forceth him from his flrength, reprize th many ships formerly taken by him, and so imperuously chaseth him, as he, with much difficulty, escaped to the Isle of Oleron. Our King having advice of the mis-employment of his Ships, repugnant to their prime destination, by compromise and mutuall Contract, sent an expostulatory message to his Brother, demanding the cause of this violation of his Royall Parole; and, withall, requiring the restitution of his Ships.

To the breach of Promise, the French King returned answer, That the Rochellers had first temerated, and sleighted their Faith with him, and that necessity enforced him, to use all means to impede the progress of so great disloyalty, which he could not well doswithout the Aid of the English Ships his own Fleet being upon other service : As to the restitution of the Ships, he replyed, That his Subjects, by whom they were mann'd, held them contrary to his minde, and therefore wisht his Brother would come by them as he could. King Charles would have none of this Answer; and while he pressed for a better, he occasioned it, by the seisure of the New-haven-(hip; which Lemes took for sufficient ground, not onely to keep his Hold of those seven ships, but also to arrest our Merchants goods in France, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds; yet, at length, either upon our Kings re-imbarquing to the

French owners their goods, or reason of State (new Commotions, An Christis, then arifing in France ) so perswading, Lemes in the beginning of May, 1626. released all ours, both Ships and Goods. Upon this, all was calm as could be between them again: But this lucid interval lasted not long, there being a fresh eruption of discontent upon an unhappy disaster, which befel in our Queens Court, and it was as followeth.

July the 1. of this year, towards the evening, the King waited accident in the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Holland and Carlile, the Queens and other principal Officers, came to Somerfet-house, whither all Court conthe ucens servants were commanded by a Message sent the cerning her far day foon after dinner, to repair, and delivered his mind to them to this effect.

Gentlemen and Ladies,

Am driven to that extremity, as I am personally come to acquaint you, that I very earnestly desire your return into France. True it is, the deportment of some among st you hath been very inoffensive to me; But others again have so dallyed with my patience, and so highly affronted me, as I cannot, I will no longer endure it.

This Accusation, though not determined to any particulars yet, while the blame hovered over all, every fingle was concern'd to keep it aloof; so that one by one, they began profession of their several innocencies. The Bishop of Mende answered, Sie, If this accrimination be levelled at me, let me, I befeech you, know my fault, while I am here to make defence. And Madem S. George seconding him; Sir, I make no question, but the Queen will give of me a fair testimonial to your Majesty... But the King departed with this Reparts, this short reply onely, I name none. The Queen, whose tenerity of years, and frailty of fex, had not yet annualed. and fixt her for fuch an encounter, upon the first knowledge of it, over-whelmed with the billows of passion, grew exceeding impetuous against his Majesty, imputing it to him, as the outfide and extremity of unkindnesse, that having so slenderia fee and fute of her Native friends and fervants to attend her, they must now be in an instant all cathiered, in whose lieu she must now expect not a train of honor, but a guard of dilaffected frangers, nothrowait fo much upon har Commands; as to watch ner actions, and to be treated liker a Prisoner than a Princesser That it was an high indignity to the Daughter of Prances and Oueen of England, that the could not retain a menial fervant without a Conge d'eslier, and prevarious addresse. His Majosty observing her thus transported, laboured by all gentle penswa-

1626

1626

They are vvarned out of the Realm.

An. Christi Itions to pacifie her; but finding the torrent too terocient and furious for Reason to deal with resolved he was (hoping that her choler would at length quench it felf with its own chullirions and over-seethings) to ride out the storm, and persisted inflexible from his former purpose. Whereupon in the beginning of the next moneth, they were constrained to quit the Realm. A very fad doom it was certainly to the French, if we look upon the punishment abstracted and singled from the fault; for many of them had made fale of all that was theirs in France, for the purchase of those places of attendance, to whom proscription and banishment was equivalent to weer

Their feveral offences.

But, as the animadversion was extreme severe; so their offences were adequately and in like degree hainous: and suffer they might an uniform chastisement, for mildemeanours of several makes. The Ecclefiaftick stood charged, for putting intolcrable fcorn upon, and making Religion it felf do Penance, by enjoyning her Majesty, under the notion of Penance, to go barefoot, to spin, to wait upon her Family servants at their ordinary repasts, to trash on foot in the mire on a rainy morning from Somerset house to St. Jameses, her Confessor, mean while, like Lucifer himself, riding by her in his Coach : but, which is worst of all, to make a Progresse to Tyburn, there to present her devotions. A most impious piaculary, whereof the King said acutely, that, The Aftion can have no greater investive then the Relation. Again, the Bishop of Asende was blamed for contesting over eagerly with the Earl of Holland, about the Stewardship of those Mannors, which were setled upon the Queen for her Dower that Office being confer'd on the Earl by the King, and the Bishop claiming a grant from her Majesty. The other Sex were accused of Crimes of another nature, whereof Madam St. George was, as in dignity of Office, so in guilt, the principall; culpable she was in many particulars, but her most notorious and impardonable fault was, her being an accurled Instrument of some unkindnesse between the King and Queen, through a causelesse taking distaste at his Majesty, for a repulse from riding in the Coach with both their Majesties, Ladies of greater eminency worthily claiming preferment.

This seeming disrespect the resented with so deep disgust, as the ever after meditated all possible means, not onely to create an odium and disdain in the Queen against the English Ladies, but also to procure a disaffection to the King himself. And in tract of time, her infinuations into the Queens credulity were fo porent, that what Madam S. George suggested, was more credential with her, then what her husband could alleadge in

contradiction.

So that the King perceiving Majesty thus trampled under An, Christi foot and the facred ties of Wedlock, making fuch approaches to a kind of nullity, through the instigation of hers, and such mischievous spirits, the result of his Reason could be rationally supposed no other, then to evacuate and discharge the Kingdome of them. And the event did highly commend the counsel, for these Incendiaries once casheired, the Queen who formerly shewed so much Waspish protervity and way-wardnesse, soon fell into such a mode of loving complacence and compliance, as evidently verified; her former deportment was rather the product of malicious spirits, then the effects of any crosse-grained inclination of nature; nor did the World ever afford a couple more mutually endeared each to other, then that Pare-Royal became after that.

But though this Remvoy of her Majesties servants imported domestique peace, yet was it attended with an ill aspect from Erance, though our King (studying to preserve fair correspondence with his Brother ) fent over the Lord Carleton, with Instructions, to present a true account of the action, with all the motives to it; but his reception was very courfe, being never

admitted to audience.

For Lewes his ears were so wide open to the complaints of the profcribed French, as in the crowd of many truths, malice had power to convey in portentous lyes, one whereof is especially filed upon the Record of History, by some French Narrators, liz. That they were casheir'd without their wages and appointment; whereas they had not onely their full Debentures paid them; but (as in draught) large rewards over and besides, the total amounting tempenty two thousand seven hundred thirty two pounds, the feveral parcels, whereof I am able to afcertain; and for the verity of this, I appeal to Sir Henry Vane, then Cofferer to the King.

But Lewes dispatcht Monsieur the Marshal de Bassompierre, as Extraordinary Ambassadour to our King, to demand the restitution of the Queens Domestiques; who labouring some moneths in vain for their re-establishment, was compelled, at length, to return home a mal-content. Nor was it very disticult to presage what the issue of his Negotiation would prove in England, confidering how the Lord Carleton was flighted in France, and how that difrespect was seconded by an affront of a worse quality upon our ships at Bourdeaux, at that very instant of Bassompiers imployment here. For our Merchants laden with Wine at Bourdeaux, in their return home, being to take in their Ordnance at Blay, a Castle upon the Gironde, where (according to an ancient Custome of diffidence in the French towards us

English) they were unladen, they were all arrested in the begin-

Mercury Francois, & DK

An Embargo at Bourdeaux.

An. Christs I ung of November, by Order from the Parliament of Romen, upon pretence of some injurious depredation by the English. This indignity King Charles Romacht with such vehemency of spirit as he resolved upon hostility with France; as shall appear in the Narrative of the enfuing year.

Before I remove from hence, let me here offer at an Aphorism, and State-fyllogism, that is, from those premised, and fore recited differences, to infer, that Confederations and Alliances between Princes, are rarely long-lived; the reason (I conceive) is, because they are not souldered by any magnetique of Love, but by occult interest of State; and therefore pendulous, upon the variety and mutation of Affairs. And, for the most part, they are occasioned by a Fear, either mutual of each others, or in conjunction of a thirdPower, (so that fuch Leagues may more properly be called Leagues of Fear, then of Amity ) whereby it comes to passe, that if the ballance of Power be not equilibrated, very evenly poyled, that Prince who hath the odds of inclination, either in reality, or fupposition, will soon find and exkogitate for his own advantage, matter of pretext to retire from his Faith, and to temerate the Laws of Alliance: nor can any verbal formality in the frame of the Treaties secure, nor the Oaths (the strongest ligaments of humane Society) by which they are ratified, be defensatives sufficient against any, who hath a genius and mind to violate his fidelity, especially when the difference is like to receive no other decision, than what the Sword yields. And if fuch Alliances have tue hap to be entertained with a serious and cordial disposition on both parts vet many traverses and untoward accidents, fortuitously and by chance occur, which either not manage the best behoof of correspondence, or seconded by counsels of an ill temper, carry along with them fatal consequences, and generate a Rupture. So it fell out in this quarrel between Us and France, wherein whether either merited the total of the blame generally imputed to them, may occasion further disquisition.

That the imbarque and stay of our ships at Blay by Lewes his Command, was an infringement of the League, it is conceded. no evasion can be devised for it. But that he brake his Faith (as is generally fuggested, and urged against him) in using the seven thips against Rochel, changing thereby the property of their prime destination,I, under favour, supersede my assent. My rea-

· All promises whatsoever, carry always about them, tacite Salvo's, and favings of general and imply'd conditions; whereof one is, That Affairs keep their station, and vary not from what they were at the moment of pollicitation: for words cannot oblige beyond the mind, and it would be destructive to humane Society,

mould a man be bound up by the strictheste of his Parole, to An Chellis the performance of what (upon rational Principles) neither himself would have granted, nor another have required of him at the first instant of the Contract. And this was Lemes his case: for when he first past that Promise, he had at home a consideraole Armado, the greatest part whereof he might, and worl have referred to engage against Rochel, and consequently have disposed the English ships agreeable to his first purpose. Bu. that Navy being now abroad, and too remote to bring timely aid not to use all imaginable means, in order to his own fafety, for the crushing of thole Revolters, had been to betray himself to inevitable ruine. For in periclitations and dangers of so eminent a degree, it is to none denied to use all the VVits they have: therefore even amongst the Romans, the most steady and punctual observers of Faith, there was a Law, and they tell us enacted by Jupiter himself, which justifyed all actions, whereby the Common-wealth might be preferred; therefore, though parodox it may scem, and out of the Road of common belief; yet sceing falutaria essen, none can convince it for heterodox, and repugnant to truth, in justa & legin= this particular, we may pronounce, that Lewes did break rather his Word then his Faith.

King Charles is taxed for violating the Matrimonial Patt, by the Reavoy, and discarding of the Queens Domestiques. An accusation, which if it hath somewhat of truth, it hath I am sure more of partiality; for why should he be singled out in the accrimination, who was not fingle in the Crime anot onely other Princes, but Lewes himself having been guilty of a similary practice upon the Spanish Retinue of his own Queen. But Precedents are no Standards, nor can they legitimate illegal actions: this, therefore, no just vindication of our King, whose ho nour will (if I mistake not) find better relief from the Agree ment it self, then from Example.

The Article urged against him, is the 14th. by which it was contracted, That all the Domestique servants which the Queen should bring over into England, should be natural French and Catholiques, chosen by the most Christian King. And in case of death, the to chuse others Catholiques of France, provided the King of Great Brittain should assent.

Hereby it appeareth, that her first Set was to be of her Brothers Eletion, and fo they were. But how long they should continue their attendance, & that ejectment (in case of misdemeanor) might not create a vacancy as well as death, nothing is expresly limited to the contrary: and, indeed, it cannot in reason be conceived, that the Articles should give them a longer tearm, then

1626.

Him areals φθονοντάξυμ Φέρο τα τών MY ISTU WELL xirdira &u गांगिक जिल्ला Thucyd, lib. I Fupiter ipse Sancivit ut oms nia quæ reipnb. ma baberensur. Cic. Philip, 2.

An, Christi I during an obedience sutable to their Offices, or state them in fuch an indefersable tenure, as might tempt them to all kinde of infolence against their Superiours. So then their condition being pendulous upon their good behaviour, which no doubt, (as is evident by their Oath clientelary, and of Fidelity formed in the 15. Article) was equally relative to either Majesty; I cannot but totally acquit King Charles of blame, in profcribing luch as refractarily offended. To proceed:

Whilest these two Kings were thus picking quarrels one with the other, very fad news came hither from Germany, That the King of Denmark, notwithstanding the late aid sent from England of 6000, men, under the conduct of Sir Charles Morgan, nad on the 17.0f August received a total overthrow by Tilly, and was reduced to such distresse, that if present succour came not, he was ruined for ever; That the Sound was like to be loft; the English Garrison at Stoade straightly besieged; our Eastland Trade, and Staple at Hamborough, where our clothes are vented, almost given up for gone.

Though these storms appeared as Land-skips, and aloof, yet the King forefaw, that as the wind lay, their impression was like foon to visit him at home; and at home he was in no good plight to bear up against them, matters going there with him

correspondently ill.

For having fent out a Fleet of 30 fail, all men of War, in the beginning of October, under the command of the Lord willoughty, and Earl of Denbigh, an hideous storm so ruffled them, as they had much ado to gain safe Harbour; and well they escaped lo, for they were of so slight and insusticient a structure, as had they been but an hundred leagues farther off, very few, if any, had recovered Land.

But it is an ill wind blowes none to good; and this boystrous gust was a friendly contrivance of providence for the Earl of Denbighs advantage, there falling out an unhappy accident in his absence, which called, and speedily too, for all was man in

Marquesse Hamilton departeth in Idifpleasure.

A Navy pre-

pared for Ro-

The Marquesse Hamilton had been long, and earnestly solicited by the Duke to marry his Neece, this Earls Daughter. The Marquesse had a mind as high, as (some thought above) his extraction, and did account the Earls daughter, who was (though well derived) but yesterday Sir william Fielding, impar congress sand no fit Match: at length the King interposeth his defire and Princes desires are equiparate to Commands; so, in the end. the Marquesse consents, and weds her, but with a serious resolution lution never to bed her: all fair and gentle means were used, both by the King and Duke, to perswade him to become her bed-fellow; that failing, they steer'd a course quite contrary,

and diverted nim of his place in the Spicery, worth 2500 1. per

An. Christ 1626. 

Upon this, the Marquesse mal-content, a week before the Earl's return, departs for Scotland, bidding the Court (as it was supposed )an eternal valediction. The Earl no sooner landed, then he was faluted with the news of his fon in laws departure; whereupon he takes Post amain after him, and after many denials, at last, with carnest importunity, reduced him to the Court: yet all the Art and Royal Power could not induce him to bed her, untill two years after; and as not then, without strong reluctation, so was he for an entire year so abstinent from dispensing to her conjugal duties, as all that while he treated her rather like something contagious, not affording her the favour of one touch as he himfelf confest the greater miracle, because in the Ladies Person there was nothing horrid, but a welcomplexion'd lovelinesse, and what might attract desire. But what her external could not, her internal Beauty, at length, effected: the demeaning her felf, during his aversion from her, with so modest, so humble a compliance, and such Christian Patiencesas put his Will into another mode, and disposed it to the better fashion of an agreeable uxoriousnesse.

The King being thus on every fide, on the lofing hand, he was much distressed in mind what course to take to discharge himself of those impendent Calamities; should he call a Parliament, the time (whose every moment was precious to him) would not permit to stay for their Convention; and when met, should they prove (as it was odds they would) as dilatory and disgustful as the former, he were in a worse condition then before. In this perplexed difficulty, at length, his Councel agreed to fer that great Engine, his Prerogative, on work; many Projects were hammered on that Forge, but they came all to small effect.

First, they moved for a Contribution, by way of Benevolence, but this was foon dasht: then a resolution was taken to enhance the value of Coyn two shillings in the pound; but this also was foon argued down by Sir Robert Cotton; But that which the Councel stuck closest to, was the issuing of a Commission, dated the 13. of Ollober, for raising of almost two hundred thousand pounds by way of Loan; and the more to expedire and facilitate this Levy, the Commissioners were instructed to represent to the Subject, the deplorable estate of Rochel, then closely beleager'd by the Duke of Guife; and if not speedily relieved, would fall irrecoverably into the hands of the enemies of the Protestant Religion.

These were plausible infinuations. For Rochel, though situated in another Countrey, yet was looked upon, as in the lame parallel sof belief with us. And what will not men suffer

The King in

Raiseth monies by Loan.



63

1626. 

Many refule.

Dr. Andrews B.ofwinchester dyeth.

And the Vicount St. Albans.

An. Christ for others of the same perswasion; especially when same reports them sufferers, because of the same perswasion?

Bur all would not smooth the asperity of this illegal Tax; Rochel and all other forrain confiderations must stand by, when homebred liberty is disputed; so thought the almost moity of the Kingdom, who opposed it to Durance. Upon this account of refutall, prisoners, some of the Nobility, and most of the prime Gentry were daily brought in by scores, I might almost tay by Counties, so that the Councel Table had almost as much work to provide Prisons, as to supply the Kings necessi-

This year Learning lost two luminaries of the greatest magnitude that ever this Nation enjoy'd.

First, that stupendiously profound Prelate Dr. Andrews Bishop of wincheser, an excellent Disputant, in the Orientall Tongues surpassingly knowing so studiously devoted to the Doctrine of the ancient Fathers, as his extant Works breath nothing but their faith; nor can we now read the Fathers in his Writings, more then we could have done in his very afpect, gesture and actions, so venerable in his presence, so grave in his morions, to pious in his conversation, so primitive in all. Briefly, in nim was, what was defireable in a Bithop, and that to admiration.

Secondly, the then, and last Lord Chancellor Sir Francis Bacon Vicount St. Albans, for humane Learning his Ages miracle, but withall the mirrour of humane frailty; and as most eminent in intellectual abilities, so too much in his prudential failings, occasioned by his August and Noble soul, which disdaining all drossie and terrene consideration, never descended to know the value of money, untill he wanted it; and his want was at length so great, as when he yielded to the Law of Nature, he left not of his own enough to defray the Charge of his Funeral rites.

He lyeth interred in the Church of St. Michael at St. Albans in Hartfordshire, and hath there a fair statuary Monument erected for him of white Marble at the cost of Sir Thomas Meautis, his ancient fervant, who was not nearer to him living then dead: for this Sir Thomas ending his life about a score of years after, it was his lot to be inhumed so nigh his Lords Sepulchre, that in the forming of his grave, part of the Vicounts body was exposed to view; which being spyed by a Dostor of Phylick, he demanded the head to be given him, and did most shamefully disport himself with that shell which was some-while the continent of so vast treasures of knowledge.

The Commission of Loan not answering in its product his Majesties expectation, the Papists began now to plot their

own advantage from the Kings wants; and under pretence of An. Christie. Loyalty, they of Ireland propounded to him, That upon confideration of a Toleration of their Religion, they would at their own charge furnith him with a constant Army of five thonfand Foot, and five hundred Horfe. But this project to their great regret proved downbaked, the Protestants countermining them; for in the next Spring Doctor Domnham Bishop of London-Derry, preaching before the Lord Deputy and the whole States Aprilt the 22, taking for his Text, Luke 1, 74. That me being delivered from the bands of our enemies, might fence him mishout fear; In the middest of his Sermon, he openly read this Protestation subscribed by the Archbishops and all the Bishops of that Kingdom:

1. The Religion of the Papills is Superstations and Edolatrons.

2. Their Faith and Doctrine Erroneous and Hevetical.

3. Their Church in respect of both Apastatical.

To give them therefore a Toleration, is to make our selves access any to their abominations, and to the perdition of their soules.

But to fell them a Toleration, is to fet Religion to fale, and with that, their souls which Christ hath redeemed with his precious blood.

The Bifton having ended this Protestation, added, And let all the people fay, Amen; which they did, so as the Church almost shook with the noise. The Deputy required of the Bishop a Copy of both his Sermon and Protestation, who answered, He would most willingly justific it before his Majesty, and feared not who read it.

And about the same time the like offer was made here in England, to set forth Ships and Men for the safeguard of the narrow Seas: But old Sir John Savill found a trick worth two of that, he had a project would bring indouble that money, laying, A Commission to proceed against Recusants for their thirds due to his Majesty by Law would do it; to which the King in part condescended, granting him and some others a Commission for the parts beyond Trent.

But though moneys came in but flowly, yet was the Naval Force compleated for expedition about Midfummer; whereof the Duke appeared Admirall; as ambitious by some meritorious service to earn a better gust, or correct the universall odium against him.

June the 27. he fee fail from Portsmouth with about fix thoufand Horse and Foot, and July the 2 L. he published this Menifesto, declaring the impulsive causes of his Majosies present arming.

What part the Kings of Great Britain have alwayes taken in the affaires of the Reformed Churches of this Kingdome, and with what care and zeal they have laboured for the good

1627.

Sir Fohn Savils project against the English.

The Action of

An. Christia of them, is manifest to all, and the examples of it are also as ordinary as the occasions have been. The now King my most honoured Lord and Master, comes nothing short of his Predeceffors therein, if his good and laudable defigns for their good had not been perverted to their ruine, by those who had the most interest for their accomplishment. What advantages nath he refused? what parties hath he not sought unto & that by his alliance with France he might work more profitably and powerfully the restitution of those Churches into their ancient liberty and splendor. And what could be best hoped by so strict an alliance, and from so many reiterated promises, by the mouth of a great Prince, but effects truly Royall, and forting with his Greatnesse? But so far fails it therein, that his Majesty in so many promises and so strait obligation of friendthip, hath found means to obtain liberty and furery for the Churches, and to restore peace to France by the reconciliation of those whose breath utters nothing else but all manner of obedience to their King under the liberty of the edicts; that contrariswise they have prevailed by the interest which he had in those of the Religion to deceive them, and by this means not only to until him from them, but also to make him (if not odious unto them) at the least suspected, in perverting the means which he had ordained for good, to a quite contrary end. Witnesse the English ships not designed for the extirpation of these of the Religion (but, to the contrary, expresse promise was made, that they should not be used against them) which notwithstanding were brought before Rochel, and were imployed against them in the last Sea-fight; what then may be expected from so puissant a King, as the King my Master to openly eluded, but a through feeling equal and proportioned to the injuries received? but his patience hath gone beyond patience, and as long as he had hope that he could benefir the Churches by any other means, he had no recourse by way of Arms; so far, that having bin made an instrument and

> fends caution to the Churches. But what hath been the iffue of all this, but only an abuse of his goodnesse'? and that which his Majesty thought a soveraign remedy for all their fores, hath it not brought almost the last blow to the ruine of the Churches? It wanted but little by continuing

> worker of the late Peace, upon conditions disadvantagious

enough, and which would never have been accepted without

his Majesties intervention, who interposed his credit and in-

terest to the Churches to receive them (even with threatnings)

to the end to shelter the honour of the most Christian King,

under assurance of his part, not onely for the accomplishment,

but also for the bettering of the said conditions, for which he

continuing the Fort before Rochel, (the demolithing whereof Ar. Christie was promited) by the violence of the Souldiers, and Garrisons of the faid Fort and Itles, as well upon the inhabitants of the faid Town, as strangers; in lieu whereas they should wholly have retired, have daily been augmented, and other Forts built, and by the stay of Commissioners in the said Town bevond the term agreed on, to the end to make broiles, and by the means of the division which they made to open the gates to the neighbouring Troops, and by other withstandings and infractions of Peace, little, I say, fail'd it, that the said Town, and in it all the Churches had not drawn their last breath. And in the mean while his Majesty hath yet continued, and not opposed so many injuries, so many faith-breakings, but by plaints and treatings; until he had received certain Advice (confirmed by intercepted Letters ) of the great preparation that the most Christian King made to showr upon Rochel, And then what could his Majesty do lesse but to vindicate his honour by a quick arming against those who had made him a party in their deceit, and to give testimony of his integrity and zeal, which, he hath alwayes had for the re-establishing of the Churches, which shall be dear and precious to him above any other thing 2.

The first design of this Fleet was intended against Fort-Lewes, upon the continent near Rochel. But we were diverted by a stratagem of the Duke d'Angoulesm, who (coming with three thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, for the security of the Fort, and annoyance of Rochel) ordered his Quarter-masters to take up as much accommodation in the Villages for quarters, as would suffice for fifteen thousand men; and they of the Religion supposing the power to be agreeable to this area or content of ground possessed by them, sent speedy advice thereof to the Duke and Subize, who infta, tly directed their course toward the Isle of Rhe.

July the 30. the English early in the morning shewed themselves upon the Islands of Oleron to the number of about twenty Sail: upon their first discovery from Land they were supposed to be Dankerks waiting the motion of the Hollanders then in the Road; but when it was perceived that they made nearer approaches toward the shore of the Isle of Rhe, and withall grew more numerous, and the Hollanders taking no alarm, they were then suspected to be English. The next day they sent in twelve Ships to guard the entry of Port-Breten, falling down with the rest to a Fort of the Isle of Rhe, called de la Pree, against which they played with their Canon, untill they made their approaches with Musquer-shot of the shore, which made 1627.

An. Christs

1627.

An. Christi, Sieur de Toiras Governour of the Cittadel of St. Martin think they had intentions of landing there; to impede which, he made out all the strength he could, but we kept the French at that distance with our Ordinance, as gave us liberty to land about 1200 men. The enemy being about one thousand Horse and Foot besides Voluntiers, made a very gallant impression upon us; but coming counter and travers of our Canon, they received the greater losse: the totall of those who fell on both fides, was estimated at about nine hundred, whereof the enemy bare] the greater share. Men of note slain of our party were Sir William Heyden, and Sieur de Blancard, a French-man, Agent from the Duke of Rhoan, and the Protestants. Of the French, the Governours brother, the Baron of Chuntal, and about half

a score more.

In this skirmish it was hard to distinguish which side won the field, seeing neither kept it, both retreating to their holds, we to our Ships, they to their Garrison, where for three dayes all was so 'st, so calm on both sides, as if they had sworn a Truce, or had spent their whole stock of valour. At length the Duke perceiving the French had as little stomach as himself, went on shore again, intrenching himself, untill he had debarqued all his Horse: then he dispatcht Subize, and Sir william Beecher to Rochel for a recruit; who returning with five hundred Foot, they forthwith marched directly towards Sr. Martins Fort, (disdaining to attempt La Pre, which a slender asfault would have fubdued, and might have proved an handfome and fafe place of retreat in their future necessity.) The Islanders upon his approach to their Town fled into the Castle, and left the Town to his dispose, who thought it was an earnest of the Citadel it felf, though the sense of their Councell of War, especially of Sir John Burroughs, was clearly otherwise; and that a strength so mann'd and fortify'd, and in an Enemies Countrey, was almost inexpugnable. But notwithstanding all diswasions of his Councel, the Duke falls to circumvallation and entrenchment, rearing many Batteries, from whence he peked the Fort for the space of two moneths together, though to little purpose; all the prejudice the enemy that way received, being not equivalent to ours in the losse of that gallant Gentleman Sir John Burroughs, who was slain with a Musket that from the Citadel, while he was viewing the English Works, and after nobly and honourably interred at westminfer. It is faid, that during this fiege, there was taken by the English perdu, a French-man with a poniard of an odde fashion, wherewith (as he confessed) he was fent by Toyras to have stabb'd the Duke, which moved the Duke to poylon their fresh Springs; whereby, and for want of other supplyes, they were at once

Sir Fohn Burroughs flain.

reduced almost to the point of yeelding; when in the very iount and nick of necessity, Mounsieur Balin at an high flood, in the dead of night conveyed in twelve Pinnaces laden with fuch provision, as bare up their drooping spirits untill fresh relief arrived, which came successively in smaller parcels, untill the Marshall of Schomberg, October 29. about three of the clock in the morning, the English taking no Alarm, under the Favour of the Fort de la Pree, landed four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, wherewith about day-break he marched up to the view of the Fort and of the English. The Duke much startled at this fo strange apparition, and finding it a formidable power being loath to endure an engagement front and rear, refolved to rife and be gone; to which end he sent three hundred to guard the Bridge over which his Army was to passe unto the Isle of Loose; but before he could be ready to march away, the enemy were drawing out of the little Fort, whereupon Command was given to hasten away with all expedition. But before the English were out of the Town, the enemy followed their Rear with their Swords drawn, hollowing to us in a bravado, whereupon being got Musquet shot from the Town, we were all drawn into battalia, thinking the Enemy would charge, but they would advance no nearer: then we marched in Military order again, and coming through a Village, we placed our Musqueteers behind the walls in Ambuscado, which giving fire upon their Enemies Horse as they were coming that way, enforced them to retreat. Having marched about three miles further, we came to many little hills, which we ascended, and underneath set our men again in Battalia, staying there almost an hour before we marched away. In the interim, the enemy, which were before, a mile and half distant from us, came almost up to us, and facing us from the tops of the hills, observed in what posture we marched. Then were drawn forth some Mulqueteers of the Forlorn, to shoot at those upon the hills, and to play upon their Horses. But as we marched away they still approached nearer to us, untill we came to a passage which was so narrow, having Salt-pits on either side, as we could only march fix a breast.

The French now spying his opportunity, powred forth a great The English Volce of thot against us, then we began to march as fast as posfible. But as our Rear began to march, their Horse presently charged the Lord Montjoyes Troops, who turning tail, rode in amongst our Ranks, and routed us, (which Sir Charles Rich perceiving, cry'd, as it is reported, Kill him, kill him, though he be my Brother,) so that the greatest part began to shift for themselves, and confusedly ran away, many casting away their Arms, others

leaping into the water, were cut off,

The

An. Christi

1627.

An. Christi 1627:

The other Divisions of the Horte tell upon Sir William Coninghams Troops; but they most bravely sought it out unto the last man : had the Lord Montjoy done the like, there had not a quarter fo many perished. In this time we could not charge the Enemy because our Horse interposed betwixt us and them, and we could not annoy the Enemy; but we must more endanger our own fellows.

By this means, all those Regiments in the Rear were cut off, and some of those in the Battail, the Enemy charging us even to the Bridge, where fome of our Commanders made a stand. to receive them; and being not seconded by the Souldiers, who leapt into the water, were most of them slain; and had not Sir Edward Commays, who led the Van, marched back to the Bridge, and gallantly repelled the Enemy, who were newly passed over the Bridge, we had been all flain. Now the Enemy being driven on the other side we left a select Company of Musquetiers to guard that Passe untill night, when we burnt the Bridge, lodged that night in the Looke , and the next day went on board.

The fum of their ioffe.

The black Bill of this days Mortality, was about fifty Offieers; of common souldiers, few lesse then two thousand; Prifoners of note, thirty five; Colours taken, forty four, hung up as Anthems at Paris, in the Church of Noftre Dame. Honour loft, all we got at Agincourt. The Prisoners, Lewes graciously dismist home, as an affectionate Offertory to his Sister, the Queen of England: which made up another Victory, superadded to the former, and a Conquest over us, as well in the exercise of Civilities, as in feat of Arms. Onely the Lord Montjoy was ranfomed; for which she offering to the French King a round fum. No, my Lord, it's faid, the King replyed, Your Redemption Shall be onely two couple of Hounds from England. Some interpreted this a flender value of that Lord to be exchanged for a couple of Dogs; but it was onely in the King, a modest estimate of his courtelie.

Thus were we, I know not whether more, chaced out, or destroyed in this fatall Isle; an Isle so inconsiderable, as had we lost there neither bloud nor honour, and gained it in to the bargain, it would have ill rewarded our preparation and charge of the Expedition.

Great Enterprises, are fit Entertainments for heroique spirits, and the ambition of them is noble: But as the Atchievment of them is glorious, so the failing shameful; and the both glory and discredit commensurate with the interest of the Agent; and, consequently, Adventurers in chief have the greatest Thare, both in the honour and difgrace: fo it fared with the Duke, whom this misfortune made principally obnoxious to the

lath of wanton tongues; for upon his first weighing Anchor, and ferting fail homeward, the French faid, in a jeer, Though the Duke could not take the Cittadel of St. Martins, set it was odds but he would take the Tower of London Nor did his own Countrey spare him at home; for, immediatly upon his return, Doctor Moor, a Prebend of winchester, a man of an acute but aculeated Wit, took occasion to cite in his Sermon that of Augustus in Tacitus, Quintili Vare redde Legiones, which, saith the Historian, perithed propter inscitian & temeritatem Ducis, giving him a quaint wipe with the Amphibology, the double-mindednesse of the word Dane. In this, he was exceeding happy, that in the face of Majesty he found all serene; onely the King told him that Sir Sackvile Crow had written to him of a far greater loffe, then he acknowledged.

During this Expedition, George Abbot, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, was compelled to a re-ceffe, not inglorious to his fame, and of infinite contement to his mind; which feeluded from the drudgery of temporal cares, might wholly intend those which concerned Eternity. Being sequestred from his Function, and a Commission dated Ostober 9. granted by the King to five Bishops, Bishop Land being of the Quorum to execute Episcopal Jurisdiction within his Province. The declared Impulfive to it was a supposed irregularity in him, by reason of an homicide committed by him!, per infortunium, upon the Keeper of his Game (about fix years before) by the unhappy glance of an Arrow, level'd at a Deer: Upon which fad milchance, a former Commission was awarded by King James, to enquire, whether he was thereby rendred uncapable of officiating as Arch-bishop, yea, or nay. And although no Arguments were pretermitted, which the Wit of potent malignity could devise or suggest against him; yet was he, by the whole Court (acquiescing in the Opinion of those two learned men, Bishop Andrews, and Sir Henry Martin, who both strenuously vindicated him) pronounced Regular.

Next Michaelmas Tearm, there was an high Debate concerning the Loan Recufants, they Petitioning the Kings-Bench for an Habeas Corpus, the Attorney General alleadging they were not Bailable; and their Councel affirming they were, by reason the cause of their Commitment was not declared in the Warrant: but, notwithstanding their Councel pleaded with great applause, yet were they constrained to bide by it.

In this fame Tearm, the Lady Purbech was tryed in the High The Lady Commission for Incontinence, or to speak more explicitely, for sured in the Adultery with Sir Robert Howard, and being found guilty, was star-chamber. censured to do Penance in the Savoy, to pay the Court five hundred Marks, and to be imprisoned, during the pleasure of

1627.

An. Christi, the Court. But being in the Christmas after pursued by the Officers to do her penance, she was rescued by the Savoy Ambassadour, her next neighbour, and so escaped their clutches.

Penance and restraint were indeed somewhat unseasonable at a time of fuch Joviall festivity and indulged freedom. And the liberty of that time minds me of what then occurred jocoferiously, between jest and carnest, at the interview of two

great Princes.

A Fray in Fleetftrect.

That Christmas the Temple Sparks had enstalled a Lieutenant, a thing we Country folk call a Lord of Misrule: This Lieutenant had on Twelfth Eve late in the night fent out to collect his rents in Ramme-Alley, and Fleetstreet, limiting five shillings to every house. At every door they winded their Temple-horn, and if it procured not entrance at the second blast or summons, the Word of Command was then, Give fire, Gunner. This Gunner was a robustious Vulcan, and his Engine a mighty Smiths hammer. The next morning the Lord Mayor of London was made acquainted therewith, and promised to be with them the next Night, commanding all that Ward, and also the Watch to attend him with their Halberds. At the hour prefixt the Lord Mayor with his Train marched up in Martial equipage to Ramme-Alley: Out came the Lieutenant with his fuit of Gallants, all armed in cuerpo. One of the Halberdiers bad the Lieutenant come to my Lord Mayor; No, said the Lieutenant, Let the Lord Mayor come to me. But this Controversie was foon ended, they advancing each to other till they met half way; then one of the Halberdiers reproved the Lieutenant for standing covered before the Lord Mayor: To this reproof the Lieutenant gave so crosse an answer, as it begat as crosse a blow, which the Gentlemen not brooking, began to lay about them: but in fine, the Lieutenant was knockt down, and fore wounded, and the Halberdiers had the better of the Swords. The Lord Mayor being thus master of the field took the Lieutenant, and haled, rather then led him to the Counter, and with indignation thrust him in at the prison gate, where he lay till the Atturney General mediated for his enlargement, which the Lord Mayor granted, upon condition he should submit and acknowledge his fault. The Lieutenant readily embraced the motion, and the next day performing the condition, so ended this Christmas

Souldiers billet in the Countrey.

In January, the Duke finding the poor remains of his late Army somewhat boistrous for want of pay, to prevent a mutiny, billeted them by small parcels in the Countrey Villages, which made the Countrey people have cold chear, though hot fires; being not more burthened, then frighted with those guests, who being most strangers, Irish, and Scots, were none of

the civillest, and such Hybernal stations having never been heard of before in England in time of peace, the jealousies of subsequent calamities doubled the sense of the present, and se swelled up their terrours still higher. At the same conjuncture of time Sir william Balfore, a Scot, and eminent Commander of Horse in the Netherlands, was imployed thither by the King with Bills of Exchange of thirty thousand pounds to buy and transport a thousand Horse into England for the service of his Majesty; and Dalbier a Dutch-man, sometimes belonging to Count Mansfield, was joyned in Commission with him: so that the common man began to mutter, as if there were fome Turkish tyranny in design,

On the other side the King was infinitely perplext, and distracted with restlesse thoughts; these discontents of the Subject were not still-born, but cryed to loud, as reached to his Sacred Ears; he studied all means to disabuse them, and remove their jealousies, declaring, He disdained to harbour any such unkingly thoughts, and that he had a greater love for them then so, and desired he might at least ease their minds, seeing he could not (as matters stood with him at present) their purses.

And in truth his exigents were passing great, the King of Denmark being reduced almost to a despondence, and quitting of his Kingdome, our Garrison governed by Colonel Morgan exceedingly straightned, and the Rochellers crying amain for

For the Duke being returned from the Isle of Rhe, the King of France resolved upon a serious and formidable Siege against Rochel, and agreeable to the ancient advice of Montluc, Ann. 1573. profecuted all wayes to subdue the Town, by Famine, ordered an entire Circumvallation towards the Continent, builded three Forts, with many Redoubts upon the Entrenchment, whose line was three leagues in circumference, and distant from the Town somewhat more then Musquet shot; all this to preclude and hinder relief on that fide. But what would Land-obstruction advantage, while the Sea advenues were open ?, therefore the Cardinal of Richelien, who was chief in the managing of that Affair, attempted the making of a mighty Barricado and Travers crosse the Channel, in length about fourteen hundred yards, leaving a space in the middle for the flux and reflux of the Sea.

The Rochellers perceived by the scantling and grandure of this preparation, the naturall issue could be no other then their scrave the ruine, unlesse they should render it abortive by some counterplot: this their distresse hurrieth and serrieth over again Subize and their Deputies to England, to folicite our King for fresh supplies before the prodigious work should be complea-

The Rochellers Kings ayd.

An. Christi ted; who (good Prince) affected with their miseries, and defirous rather to protect them from being flaves, then to enable them to be Masters, condescended to assure them of what assistance he could make.

Bur alas! what could his affistance signific, who was as neceffitous as themselves? Did they want Men, Ammunition, Ships ? fo did he, feeing he wanted that which was all thefe. Money. And how, where, shall that be had? His last borrowing Commissions, was a course so displeasing to the Subject, as would not admit of re-petition, and it would prove an odde payment of that Loans arrears, to demand another. But the King was now the Subjest of a greater Potentate then himself, Necessity; and this Necessity put him upon severall projects. First, he borroweth of the Common Councell of London one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for which and other debts he affures unto them twenty one thousand pounds per annum of his own Lands, and of the East-India Company thirty thousand pounds, and yet he wants: Next prive Seals are fent out by hundreds, and a new way of Levy by Excife, refolved upon to be executed by Commission, dated the 3. of February, and yet he wants. But the best and most taking project of all, was a Parliament; whereby he hoped not onely to supply his Necessities, but also to give some better repose to his troubled spirit; for he felt no inward contentment, whilest he the Head, and his Subjects the Body, were at distance, or like intersects and flies, tack't together by a Mathematicall line and imaginary thread; therefore he feriously resolved for his part to frame and dispose himself to such obliging complacencie and compliance as might re-confolidate and make them knit again.

A Parliament called.

This Parliament was summoned to meet upon the 17. of March, and the Writs being issued out, the Loan-Recusants appeared the only men in the peoples affections; none thought worthy of a Patriots title, but he who was under restraint upon that account; so that the far greater number of the Parliament was formed of them; and as their sufferings had made them of eminent remark for noble courage, fo did they for externall respects appear the gallantest Assembly that ever those Walls immured, they having estates, modestly estimated, able to buy the House of Peers, (the King excepted) though one hundred and eighteen, thrice over. Thus were all things strangely turned in a trice topside t'other way: they who lately were confined as prisoners, are now not onely free, but petty Lords and Masters, yea and petty Kings.

Some few dayes before the Session, a notable discovery was [ An. Christi made of a Colledge of Jesuits at Clerkennell. The first information was given by one Crosse, a messenger to Secretary Coke, who fent a Warrant to Justice Long dwelling neer enjoyning to take some Constables and other ayd with him; and forthwith to befer the house, and apprehend the Jesuits: Entring the first door, they found at a stairs foot, a man and a woman standing, who told them, My Masters, take heed you go not up the stairs, for there are above many resolute and valiant men, who are well provided with swords and pistols, and will lose their lives rather then seeld, therefore if you love your lives be gone. The Constables took their counfell, and like cowardly Buzzards went their way, and told Secretary Coke the danger: whereupon the Secretary fent the Sheriff to attach them, who coming with a formidable power found all withdrawn, and sneakt away; but after long scarch, their place of security was found out, it being a lobby behind a new Brick Wall wainscotted over, which being demolisht, they were presently unkennell'd to the number of ten. They found also divers letters from the Pope to them, empowring them to creek this Colledge under the name of Domin Probationis (but it proved Reprobationis) Santii Ignatii; and their books of accounts, whereby it appeared they had five hundred pounds per annun. contribution from their Benefactors, and had purchased four hundred and fifty pounds per annum; they had a Chappel, Library, and other rooms of necessary accommodation with houshold atenfils and implements marked with +s. What became of those Jesuits will fall in afterward, and what would have become of the Secretary for his double diligence in their prosecution, you should have heard, had not the Duke been cut off, by an end untimely to himself timelyto the popular gust.

The Parliament being met, the King began thus to them;

1627.

## My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Kings Speech.

THese Times are for Action, for Action I say, not for Words; therefore I shall use but a few; and (as Kings are faid to be exemplary to their Subjects, so) I wish you would 'imitate me in this, and use as few, fal-'ling upon speedy consultation. No man is I conceive fuch a stranger to the common Necessity, as to exposulate the cause of this Meeting, and onot to think supply to be the end of it; and as this Necessity is the product and consequent of your advice, fo the true Religion, the Lawes and Liberties of this State, and just Defence of our Friends and Allies, being 'fo confiderably concerned, will be, I hope, arguments enough to perswade Supply; for if it be, as most true it is, both my Duty and Yours, to preferve this Church and Common-wealth, this exigent time certainly requires c it.

In this time of common danger, I have taken the most ancient, speedy, and best way for Supply, by calling you

you together. If (which God forbid) An. Christie in not contributing what may answer the qualitie of my occasions, you do not your duties; it shall suffice I have done mine, in the conscience where of I shall rest content, and take some other course, for which God hath impowred me, to save that which the folly of particular men might hazard to lose.

'Take not this as a Menace (for I forn to threaten my Inferiors) but as an Admonition from him who is tyed, both by Nature and Dutie, to provide for your preservations; and I hope, though I thus speak, your demeanors will be such, as shall oblige me in thankfulnesseto meet you oftener, than which nothing shall be more pleasing to me.

Remembring the distractions of our last meeting, you may suppose I have no considence of good successe at this time; but be assured, I shall freely forget and forgive what is past, hoping you will follow that sacred advice lately inculcated, to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

7 7 ....

The

An: Christi 1

The Parliament seemed at first, exceeding prompt to close with the Kings defires; and as complyingly disposed, as could be wished. But they had not forgot the many pressures, which made the Subject grean: fomething they must do for them who fent, as well as for Him who called them thither : and to anticipate all Dispute, in point of Precedence, between the Subetis Grievances, and the Kings Supplies, they made an Order, that both should proceed pari passu, check by joul.

The Parliament grant liberally.

Apon full consideration of the Kings wants , they presently and cheerfully agreed to give him five Subfidies: whereof Secretary coke was the first Evangelist, and bearer of that good news to the Kings who received it with wondrous joy, and afked the Secretary by how many voices it was carryed; Sir John replyed, but by one : At which, perceiving the Kings coun-Ecnance to change, Sir, said he your Majesty hath the greater cause torejoyte, for the House was so unanimous therein as they made but one poice: Whereupon the King wept, and bad the Secretary tell them, He would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his Predece Sors had granted.

The Subjects liberty under debate.

The Stream of Affairs running thus smoothly, without the least wrinkle of discontent on either side, the House of Commons first insisted upon the Personal Freedome of the People; and refolved for Law, That no Freeman ought to be imprisoned; either by the King or Councel without a legal cause alledged: This Opinion of rhe House was reported to the Lords, at a Conference, by Sir Edinatt Cone, Six Dudly Diggs, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Littleton; Six Dudly Diggs citing Alls 25. Wer. 27. It feemeth an unreasonable thing to fend a prisoner, and not withall to signific the Crimes laid adaridt him.

The Lords ' nice in tee buineffe,

This businesse stuck very much in the Lords House, who were willing that the Nails should be pared, not the hands tied of the Preseguirte; several and great Debates there were about it, the Arturney pleading eagerly, though impertinently for the King; and the ancient Records were to direct for the People, and to trongly enforced, as the Arturney had no more, to lay, but, prefer my felf to the judgment of the Lords. And when thele Lords were togive judgment concerning it, the Ducal of Royall Party (for they wore both one) were fo prevalent, as they who leaned the other way; durft not abide the tryal by vote; but calling the Lord Keeper down, moulded the House into a Commitrecountil the Lordisay made a motion, That they who frood for the Liberties (being effettite about fifty might make their Protestation, and that to be upon becord; and that the other opposite party sould also, with subscription of their Names, enter their Reasons, to remain upon Record, that Posterity might not be to seek, who they were sucho so, ignobby betrayed the Freedome of our Nation; and that this done, they ibould proceed to vote, At which the Court-party were to danted, An. Christie as they durst not mutter a syllable against it.

Personal Liberty being thus settled, next they fall upon Liberry of Goods, the untiltering of Souldiers, and nulling of Martiall Law in times of Peace; and finding Magna Charta, and fix other Statutes explanatory of it, to be expresly on their side, they petitioning the King, to grant them the benefit of them: Whereupon he declared himself by the Lord Keeper to them; 1628.

That He did hold the Statutes of Magna Charta, and the six other insi-sted upon for the Subjects Liberty, to be all in force, and assured them that He would maintain all his Subjects in the just freedome of their Persons, and safety of Estates. And that He would govern according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and that his People should find as much security in his Royal Word and Promise, as in any Laws they could made. So that hereafter they should have no cause to complain; and therefore he desired no doubt nor distrust might possessed any man, but that they vould proceed speedily and unanimously on writh their business.

This Message begat a new Question, whether, or no, his Majesty bould be trusted upon his word. Some thought it needless because his Oath at the Coronation, binding him to maintain the Laws of the Land, that Oath was as strong as any Royal Word could be. Others were of Opinion, that should it be put to Vote, and carryed in the Negative, it would be infinitely dishonourable to him in Forein Parts, who would be ready to say, The People of England would not trust their King.

An. Christin

At length in the height of this Dispute, stands up Sir Edward Coke, and thus informed the House, we sit now in Parliament. and therefore must take his Majesties word no otherwise then in a Parliamentary way; that is, the King fitting on his Throne in his Robes, his Crown on his head, his Scepter in his hand, in full Parlianent; that is, both Houses being present; all these circumstances obser-ved, and his Assert being entred upon Record, make his Royal Word the word of a King in Parliament, and not a word delivered in a Chamber, or, at second hand, by the mouth of a Secretary, or Lord Keeper, Therefore, his Motion was, That the House should (more majorum) according to the Custome of their Predecessors, draw a Petition (de Droid) of Right to his Majesty; which being confirmed by both Houses, and assented to by the King, would be as firm an Act as any.

The Petition of Right. حت

This Judgment of so great a Father in the Law, at this time. ruled all the House; and accordingly a Petition was framed, and at a Conference presented to the Lords; the substance whereof, after the recital of feveral Statutes, relating to the priviledge of the Subject, was reduced to these four Heads:

They do pray your most Excellent Majesty , that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or such like charge, without common confent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or to take such Oath, or to give attendance, on be confin'd, or otherwise molested, or disquieted concerning the same or for refufal thereof.

And that no Free-man be taken and imprisoned, or be differsed of his Exec-hold or Diberty, or his free Customs, or be out-lawed, or exiled, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.

And that your Majety would be pleased to remove the Souldiers and Mariners now Billeted in divers Counties, and that your People may not be so burthened in time to come.

That the late Commissions, for proceeding by Marshall-Law, may be revoked and annulled, and that bereafter no Commission of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons what soever to be executed, lest by colour of them any of your Majesties Subjects be destroyed, and put to death contrary to Lam and the Franchises of the Land.

All which they most humly pray of your most excellent Majelly, as their Rights and Liberties, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm ; And that your Majesty would also vouch fale to declare that all awards doings or proceedings to the preindice of your People, Shall not be drawn hereafter into confequence and example.

An Christi. 1628.

The Passe of this Petition was a great while disputed earnestly between the Lords and Commons; the Lirds had a more concetning interest in the Prerogative, as that which gave them their first existence, and present subsistence; and this Petition they thought would detrench too much, and, some thought, Arike at the very root of that Prerogative, so that they suspended their affent: yet because they would seem not altogether to abandon the Publique, they model'd an Addition of Saving (as they called it) and defited the Commons it might be annexed to the Perition; the Addition was we present this our humble Petition to your Majesty, not onely with care to preserve our own Liberties, but with regard to leave intire that Soveraign Power, wherewith your Majelty is trufted for the Protestion, Cafety, and happine & of your

This Addition would not down with the Commons, who imagined, it would make the Petition formuch Royalist as it would fignific nothing, as to the Subjects benefit, and would prove felo de (estell-destructive. A Conference was had with the Lords, and Mr. Noy sent to fignific the Reasons and Resolution of the Lower-House, but the Peers received little satisfaction: thereupon a second was defired, and being managed by Sit Henry Martin, and Scrieant Glanville; at length the Lord's were perfwaded to comply: then it was prefented to the King without any fuch faving Labet. His Majesty desired time to consider of it, yet did not long delay them; for as his own gracious inclination disposed him to give much; so he thought it expedienrinatiat conjunction of time, to give more for expedition in reference to his necessary Supplies; and within five dayes after gave them this enfuing answer.

The King willeth, that right be done first Answer. according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in due execution that his Subjects may have

An. Christi no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just Right and Liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself, in conscience, as well obliged, as of his Prerogative.

> The King was confident this Answer would have pleased to purpose; for as he was far from any mental reservation or equivocation fo was he studious it should be worded adequate to their defires, & was aftonisht to hear it was not satisfactory; but it feems it was too elaborate, and that the King had put too much cost into it; for the sense was not, it seems, the essence; and though the matter was fans exception, yet because not agreeable to the usuall mode, disliked; for formality was the formall part of it: therefore the Parliament agreed to petition for a new Answer of the old Modell: but before that Petition was framed, his Majesty unexpectedly surprised them with this Speech.

His Second Answer.

The Answer I have already given you, was made with so good deliberation, and approved by the fudgment of so many Wise-men, that I could not have imagined, but that it should have given you full satisfaction; but to avoid all ambiguous Interpretations, and to shew you there is no doublenesse in my meaning, I am willing to please you in words, as well as in substance. Read your Petition, and you shall have an Answer, that I am fure will please you.

The

The Petition being read, his Ma- An, Christian jesty answered.

Le droict soit faict comme il est defire. This I am sure is full, yet no more then I granted you in my first answer; you see now, how ready I have shewed my self to satisfie your Demands, so that I have done my part; wherefore, if this Parliament hath not an happy conclusion, the sin is yours, I am free.

The King having ended, the Houses testified their joy with a mighty shout, and presently the Bells rung, and Bone-fires were kindled all the City over; nor was the true cause so distinctly known; for many apprehended at first, that the King had delivered the Duke up to them to be fent to the Tower, upon which misprission some faid the Scasfold on Tower-hill was instantly pulled down, the People saying, His Grace should have

It was also said, that the House of Lords made suit to the King upon this happy accord, that he would be pleafed to receive into Grace those Lords who were in former disfavour, which he readily yielded to, and admitted the Lord Arch-bithop of Canterbury, Bishop of Lincoln, the Earls of Essex, warwick, Bristom, and the Lord Say to kiss his hand.

The Petition thus granted the Commissions of Loan and Excife were instantly out-lawed, and at the entreaty of the House of Peers cancelled in the Kings presence. Having thus secured the Faults, they removed the Faulty; and refolved upon a large Remonstrance to the King, ripping up both the grievences themselves, and the Authors of them. This Remonstrance confisted of fix Branches in fum these:

I. The danger of Innovation, and alteration in Religion. This The parliaoccasioned by, I. The great esteem and favours many Professors of the Romish Religion receive at Court. 2. Their publique resort to Mais at Denmark house, contrary to his Majesties Answer to the Parliaments Petition at Oxford. 3. The Letters for stay of proceedings against them. Lastly, the daily growth of the Arminian Fastion, favoured and protested by Neal, Bishop of Winchester, and Laud, Bin

1628.

An. Christi Shop of Bathe and Wels, whilest the Orthodox party are silenced, or discountenanced.

2. The danger of Innovation, and alteration in Government, occafioned by the Billeting of Souldiers, by the Commission for procuring one thousand German Horse and Riders, as for the defence of the Kingdome, by a standing Commission granted to the Duke to be General at Land in times of peace.

3. Disasters of our Designs, as the expedition to the Isle of Rhe, and that lately to Rochel, wherein the English have purchased their dishonour with the waste of a million of treasure.

4. The want of Ammunition, occasioned by the late selling away of

36. Last of Powder.

5. The decay of Trade by the loss of three hundred ships taken by the Dunkirkers and Pirars within thefe three last years.

6. The not guarding the narrow Seas, whereby his Majesty bath

almost lost the Regality.

Of all which evils and dangers, the principal cause is the Duke of Buckingham his excessive power, and abuse of that power. And therefore they humbly submit it to his Majesties wis dome, whether it can be safe for himself, or his Kingdome, that so great power both by Sea and Land as rests in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one Subject what soever.

Il is Remonstrance being finished on Tuesday, June 17. they prefented it, as an Appendix, with the Bill of Subfidies to the King, in the Banqueting house, who having heard it out, told them, he little expected such a Remonstrance, after he had so graciously passed the Petition of Right: As for their grievances, he would consider of them, as they should deserve. Some say, that at his passage out, the King gave the Duke his hand to kisse, which others onely suppose was no more then the Dukes low congie to his Majesties hand.

It is also reported, that the King being informed, that Mr. Denzil Hollis had an hand in this Remonstrance, he replyed in the words of Julius Cafar, Et tu Brute! I wonder at it, for we two

were fellow Revellers in a Masque together.

Some unkindnesse also happened between the Lords and Commons concerning the Bill of Subfidies, in the grant whereof the Commons had either industriously excluded, or incuriously omitted these words, The Lords, Spiritual and Temporal; and the Lords expostulating with indignation, the cause of their omission, answer was returned, That some Alls had heretofore passed so, yet nevertheless, if their Lord hips would return the Bill, their names should, if they pleased be inserted: whereat the Lords in some anger faid, And are not we as able to put them in our selves, as they were to leave us out?

Three dayes before this, Dr. Manwaring was questioned An. Christi for some seditious passages in two Sermons preached, one before the King, the other at his own Parochiall Church, wherein he afferted.

1628 Dr. Manwaring questio-

1. That the Kings Royal Command in imposing without common consent in Parliament Taxes and Loans, doth so far bind the conscience of the Subjects of this Kingdom, that they cannot refuse the payment of them, without perill of eternal damnation.

2. That Authority of Parliament is not necessary for the raising

Ayds and Subsidies.

These things being too evident to be denyed, and too grosse And censured. to admit of qualification, his sentence was;

1. Imprisonment, during the pleasure of the House,

2. Fine, one thousand pound to the King.

3. To make such submission and acknowledgment of his offences as shall be set down by a Committee in writing, both at the Bar of the Lords House, and at the House of Commons.

4. To be suspended for three years from the exercise of the Mini-

5. To be disabled from ever preaching at Court hereafter.

6. To be difabled for ever, from baving any Ecclefiaftical dignity or Secular Office.

7. That as his Book is worthy to be burnt, so his Majesty may be moved to grant a Proclamation for the calling it in, as also for the burning of it.

According to the third member of which sentence, two days

after he made his fubmission on his knees.

Whilest the Parliament was busic about this Doctor, the King was as busie about their late Remonstrance, to which he formed a formall answers traversing and denying all their charge: wherewith the Commons, being somewhat irritated, (for it was a smart one) fell down-right upon another Remonstrance against Tonnage and Poundage. But the King was unwilling to hear of any more Remonstrances of that nature, therefore resolved to frustrate it by Proroguing of the Parliament unto Officher the 20, June the 26, being the last of this Session, his Majesty calling both Houses together, before his Royall as-

An. Christi 1628.

## My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT may seem strange, that I come so suddainly to end this Session; therefore before I give my assent to the Bills, I will tell you the cause, though I must avow I ow an account of my actions to none but God alone. It is known to every one, that a while ago, the House of Commons gave me a Remonstrance, how acceptable every man may judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justifie it.

Now, since I am certainly informed, that a second Remonstrance is preparing forme, to take away my prosit of Tonnage and Poundage, (one of the chief Maintenantenances of the Crown) by alleadging that I have given away my right thereof, by my Answer to your Petition;

This is so prejudicial to me, as I am forced to end this Session some few hours before I meant it, being not willing to receive any more Remonstrances, to which I must give an harsh answer.

And since I see, that even the House of Commons begins already to make false constructions of what I granted in your Petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the

the Countrey, I will now make a Decla-An. Christi, ration concerning the true intent thereof.

The Profession of both Houses, in the time of hammering this Petition, was no ways to trench upon my Prerogative, saying, They had neither intention, nor power to hurt it.

Therefore, it must needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but onely confirmed the ancient Liberties of my Subjects. I et, to shew the clearness of my Intentions, that I neither repent, nor mean to re-cede from any thing I have promised you, I do here declare, That those things which have been done, whereby men had cause to suspect the Liberty of the Subject to be trencht upon (which indeed was the true and sirst ground of the Petition) shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice; And in time to come, (in the Word of a King) you shall not have the like cause to complain.

But as for Tonnage and Poundage, it is athing I cannot mant, and was never intended by you to aske, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant.

To conclude, I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have

An. Christ Spoken at this time to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted wou in and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition; But especially you my Lords the fudges, for to you only, under Me, belongs the interpretation of the Laws: for none of the Houses of Parliament joynt, or separate (what new Doctrine soever may be raised) have any power, either to make, or declare a Law vvithout my consent.

> The Parliament being thus prorogued, the Commons were exceedingly male-content, for they defired onely a Recesse, and Adjournment, whereby all matters then depending, might be found in the same station and condition at their next Meeting, wherein they at that present left them.

## This Session were enacted these Laws:

1. For further Reformation, of divers alufes committed on the Lords-Day, commonly called Sunday.

2. To restrain the passing or sending of any to be Popishly bred beyond the Seas.

3. For the better suppressing of unlicensed Ale-house keepers.

4. For continuance and repeal of divers Statutes.

5. For the establishing of the Estates of the Tenants of Brumfield and Yale in the County of Denbigh; and of the Tenures, Rents, and services thereupon reserved, according to a late Composition made for the Same, with the King, then Prince of Wales.

6. For the Confirmation of the Subsidies, granted by the Cler-

7. For the Grant of five entire Subsidies, granted by the Tempo-

But above all, famous to all Posterity, is this. Session, for his Majesties gracious Answer to that gallant Standard of Common-Liberty, The Petition of Right. Never did Arbitrary Power, since Monarchy first founded, so submittere fasces, so vail its Sce-

pter; never did the Prerogative descend so much from perch to An. Christis. popular lure, as by that concession, a Concession able to give fatisfaction, even to supercrogation for what was amiss in all the Kings by-past Government.

During this Session, many things occurred, worthy to be recorded; which, because forein to the Parliament affairs, I reserved as a Possfeript, being loath to make a simultaneous medely of various actions, shuffled together without dependence upon either antecedent, or subsequent Narrations.

May the 8. the Earl of Denbigh, as Admiral, fet fayl from Plymouth, with about fifty fayl of tall ships, for the relief of Rochel, and being scanted in Mariners, he was enforced to take in two thousand two hundred land-men, who should be amphibious, ferving partly for Sea-men, and partly for Land-souldiers; with this Power he made an attempt toward the relief of the town, but was repelled much to our losse, but more to our dishonour; fo as he presently betook himself to a speedy return, arriving at Plymou b the 26.0f the same month. The supposed Author of this Difaster, was one Clark, a Bedchamber man, and a chief Commissioner in all our former improsperous Expeditions who, because a supposed Papist, was conceived to have industriously betrayed us to this and former miscarriages.

The same month, but with greater honour, was Stoadt our English Garrison, some 20, miles from Hamborough, on the other side of the Elbe, given up to the Imperialists, Sir Charles Morgan having bravely and stourly defended it: the Conditions were, that the Garrison souldiers should never bear arms against the Emperour, but at the command of their own King.

June the 13. Doctor Lamb, a Creature of the Dukes, commended to him by Bilhop williams, suffered for the testimony of a lewd conversation. Having bin at a Play-house, at his return, some boys began to affront him, and call him the Dukes Devil, whereupon he hired some to guard him home, and taking in at a Cooks shop where he supt, the people watch his coming our, but he was fo strongly guarded, as they durst not venture on him : then he went to the Wind-mill Tavern in Lothbury, and at length coming forth, the Tumult being much encreased, gave the Onser, and affaulted him, so as he was forced to take refuge in the next house; but the enraged multitude threatned to pull down the house, unlesse Lamb were speedily delivered to them. The Master of the house was a Lawyer, and fearing some sad consequence of this uproar, discreetly sends for four Constables to guard him out. But the furious multitude flew at him, in the midst of his Auxiliaries, struck him down, and malled him, so as they beat out one of his eyes, and left him half dead upon the place.

The relief of

Stoadt furren-

89

An. Christi 1628: 

In this plight, he was carryed into the Counter in the Poultry, no other house being willing to receive him, where the next morning he changed this life either for a better, or for a worfe.

A most infamous and graceless Wretch he was, twice had ne been arraigned, once for a Witch, and practifing his hellish arrupon the Lord windfor, another time for a Rape at the Kings-bench Bar at westminster, where, to the assonishment of all then present, he proceeded to such prodigious insolence, as to fay in the audience of the whole Court, I wonder any should think I would commit such an act upon so despicable a Creature as this (meaning his Accuser) when had I been so disposed, I could have had my choice of the handsomest Ladies in the Court. Some considerable circumstances must not be forgot, by reason of their coherence with this Relation.

It is certain, that not full a year before, he fore-told, that he should perish in the streets, by the sury of the People. Some fay, that when the Multitude were belabouring him with stones, and cudgels, they faid, That were his Master the Duke there, they

would give him as much.

Some things also were of ominous observation, in reference to the Duke; for on the same day that Lamb was slain, the Dukes picture fell down in the High Commission Chamber at Lambeth. But that which was most notable, was, that when these and the like accidents were spoke of as fore-boding something of present fatality to the Duke, in the Lady Davis her hearing; the, for certain, reply'd, No his time is not come till August. This added to her former Prediction, concerning this Parliament, and both verifi'd in the event, rear'd the Lady up to the fame of a great Prophetess: and yet this could be in the very Devil himself, but a nude conjecture; for though he had found the minds of men very susceptible of, and disposed to receive a temptation to such a fact, which he was resolved to suggest at that time; yet that the act it self should be executed precisely then, guesse he might, prognosticate he could not; for in things determined in their natural causalities to certain and definite effects, nor onely Devils, but wife men, where miracle interpofeth not, may infallibly divine the products: but in things contingent upon free and voluntary Agents, all the Devils in Hell can but blunder.

On the Munday after the Lord Maior and Aldermen of the City were fent for to appear at the Councel Table, and to give an account of the uproar about Lamb, and were threatned, that unless they discovered, and rendred up the Malesactors, they should forfeit their Charter, and in the upshot were fined, as

was reported fix thousand marks.

This Session ended, the King finding as he thought to ma-IAn Christi, levolent a glosse started from his late Act of Grace, conceived it flood him in hand to stand upon his guard, and to make the best improvement of the small remnant of Prerogative which he had left; to which purpose instruments of working and active brains were fought out, and finding the Earl of Marlborough (the then Lord Treasurer) too dull and phlegmatick for his imployment, he removed him, and lifted up the borough remolate Lorded Sir Richard weston into his place, a man of most ved. accomplished qualifications for his design; and about the same time dignified Sir Thomas Wentworth of Yorkshire with a Barony, Sir Richard though one of the late Committee in forming the unpleasing Remonstrance, and a stickler against the Prerogative; but this beam of Majesty as it did hear, so did it soften the temper of the man, so as he became thence forward most flexible to his service. The favour of a Prince, and high Place, a consequent of it, operate wonderfully upon the spirit of man, no influence (lesse then Divine) like to it: for though vertue be onely mercenary to its felf, and is its own reward, yet will not souls, no not of the largest dimensions, in pursuit thereof, disdain to take the four of Honour.

In the beginning of August came forth a Proclamation against Papists, but especially against Jesuits and Priests, a num quod in fort of men in the state of England, like the Mathematicians, civitate nostra and Astrologers under the Roman Empire, alwayes, as the Histo-rian sayes, banished, yet alwayes staid behind.

But the great businesse of this vacation was, the setting forth a third Fleet for Rochel, then which there never before appeared a more gallant Armado formed by our Nation; and because so noble a preparation must be sutably commanded, the Duke resolved to give the venture once more.

But whilest he was in pursuit of this enterprise, he was rapp'd and hurried into another world by a most abrupt and untime-

ly death.

This

For on the Vigil, the Eve of St. Bartholomew, the 23. of August, being at breakfast at Portsmouth with Soubize, and others murdered. of principall quality, one John Felton (sometimes a Licutenant to a Foot Company in the Regiment of Sir John Ramsey) who had but about a week before meditated the act, but had not yet contrived the means, fneaks into the Chamber, vigilant to observe every opportunity serviceable for his purpose; and finding the Duke ready to rife from the Table, he withdrawes into an entry, through which the Duke was to paffe, who coming by with Sir Thomas-Frier, (to whom he declined his car in the posture of attention) in the very instant of Sir

1628. 

Earl of Marl-

Hift, I.

1628.

An. Ciruli 1628.

Thomas his retiring from the Duke, Felton with a back blow, stabb'd him on the left side into the very heart, leaving the knife, a ten penny coutel, in his body. The Earl of Cleveland and some others who were in the hearing of the thump, reported, That the most religious murderer, in the very act of striking, said, Lord have mercy on thy Soul; a speech, which the puke had scarce ability to say for himself; for, pulling the knife out, prefently, the orifice being wide, there streamed fuch an effusion of blood, and consequently such an emission of spirits, as he only was heard to say, (some report with an oath) The Villain hath killed me; and then expired. All this while the assassinate pass'd undiscovered (a fair advantage, had he been studious of escape) and the general voice passing current up and down, that he was a French-man. Felton, (like an ingenuous villain) with an undaunted courage, avowed himfelf the author of it. Many are faid to be his instigations to this execrable a.c. He had long, and in vain, attended for his arrears of pay due for former service. Again, he was twice repulsed upon his Perition for a Captains place, and others super-inducted over his head. It was thought these extimulated and whetted him on to rancour, and it is like he had prejudicated some such construction would be made of it; and conreiving the supposition of private revenge would infame and blemish the glory of the exploit, presuming he should encounter inevitable destruction, he stitched a paper to the lining of his hat, wherein he declared, His onely motive to the fast was, the late Remonstrance of the Commons against the Duke, and that he could not facrifice his life in a nobler cause, then by delivering his Countrey from so great an enemy.

Two things, as especially, and almost singularly observeable

after his fall, may not be omitted.

First, no sooner had he expired his last, and his body shifted into another room, but the Corps was totally abandoned, not a living foul was to be feen a great while in either Chamber, that where he dyed, or that whereinto he was removed; either because they durst not trust fancy with a spectacle so horrid or because they feared some further assassination. The like fate, if History be truly informed, attended the Body of our first Norman King.

Secondly, that the first news thereof finding his Majesty (then about four miles distant) at his publique devotions, he received it without the least emotion of spirit or discomposure of countenance: which equanimity some imputed to his steady intention upon that sacred duty: others thought, that though he disliked the mode and way of his disparch, yet with the thing he was well enough pleased, as if providence

had thereby rid him of the Subject of his fo great perptexity. An. Christie whom he could not preserve with safety, nor desire with he nour. But these were soon convinced of their errour, where they observed his Majesty treat his relations with so intense re-

But what soever satisfaction the King received thereby, cerrain it is, it pleased the Common man too well; for though mons rejoyce. Christianity and the Law found the act murther, yet in vulgar sense it rather past for an execution of a Malefactor, and an administration of that justice dispensed from Heaven, which they thought was denied on Earth. And because all those storms or publique miscarriages generated in the lower Region of the Parliament, had of late been terminated in him, as their grand efficient, every man would now be wife and fore-speak fair weather, and harmony between the King and Subject; how truly, a few moneths will discover.

His leaving a will behind him, imports he did somewhat His will. premeditate death. Therein he bequeathed to his Dutchesse the fourth part of his Lands for her Joynture. His debts amounted to fixty one thousand pounds, his Jewels (most belonging to the late Queen ) were prized at three hundred thousand

pounds. His Funeral was nothing folemn, his body being interred His Funeral. clandestinely the 25. of September, attended with about an hundred Mourners. The Heralds were indeed fent for by the Lord Treasurer a week before, to project a sumptuous Funeral for him; and, according to order, they brought in large proportions, it was thought exceeding those in the Obsequies of King James. But at length, upon second thoughts, the Treasurer told the King, Such pomp would prove but an hours shew, and that it were more for his glory, to erect him a flately Monument, which be might do for half the cost. The King liked the motion well, and after the Dukes Burial, put the Treasurer in mind of what he had contrived, wishing him to see it done: Then the Treasurer reply'd, Sir, I would be loath to tell your Majesty, what the world would say both here, and abroad, if you should raise a Monument for the Duke, before you erest one for your Father. Whether this cleanly and cunning diversion flowed from the Treasurer, his no singular good-will to the Duke; or from a provident regard to his Masters purse, let others determine:

Thus fell this miracle of grandure in the 36. year of his age, a Race he might, in the ordinary rode of nature, have doubled. A Gentleman he was of that choice and curious make, for exteriour shape, as if Nature had not in his whole frame drawn one line amis; nor was his brique raised by soft and limber

Things me-morable after his fall.

HisCharacter.

1628.

1628. 

4.00

An. Christi, limber studs, but sturdy and virile. His intellectuals, gained him rather the opinion of a wife man, then of a wit. His skill in Letters very mean; for finding nature more indulgent to him in the ornaments of the body, then of the mind, the tendency of his youthfull genius, was rather to improve those excellencies, wherein his choice felicity confifted, then to addict himself to morose and sullen bookishnesse: therefore his chief exercifes were, Dancing, Fencing, Vaulting, and the like, as indications of strenuous agility: yet, could he have foreseen where all the climacteries and motions of his Advance should have terminated, that from no more then a meer Gentleman. it (hould be his luck to vault into the Dignity of a Duke, and Trust of a Privy Counsellor, we may presume his carly studies would not have cast so much neglect upon a thing so important to him as a Statesman, though not very fashionable as a Courtier. The temperature of his mind was, as to morall habits, rather disposed to good then bad; his deportment was most affable and debonair; a rare example in one raised so high, and so speedily: to his relations liberall, firm to his friend, formidable to his enemy. From Venereal excursions I cannot totally acquir him, He was a Courtier and young man, a Profession and Age, prone to such desires, as when they tend to the shedding of no mans blood, to the ruine of no Family, humanity fometimes connives at, though the never approves. Of his Religion, they who write most in favour of him, speak little; whereof if he was too incurious, His condition the more deplorable, when surprised by so suddain a death as afforded him not the respiration of auricular contrition. But feeing God is accostable by inorganicall and inaudible ejaculations, and no time is too short to exclude such an infinite mercy, charity wills, we hope the best.

The last attempt toward Rechels relief.

This Tragique accident of the Dukes did so little impede the motion, of the Fleet, as it is a question whether or no it did at all retard it: for the King did with fuch personal assiduity, fuch diligence hasten the furnishing of it with all necessaries both of provision and munition, as he dispatcht more of concernment to it in ten or twelve dayes, then the Duke did in so many moneths before: so that on the eighth of September following departed from Portsmouth the Earl of Lindsey, (a Gentleman full of gallantry and courage) commanding in chief: but before his coming, the Cardinal had finisht his prodigious Boom and Barricado, through which it was impossible to break. Many and brave attempts (though some of his Captains flincht, either in resolution, or obcdience) he had made, and the last began to promise hopes of good successe; for the foremost Ships came up to the pry mouth of the Bar, and when they were ready to enter the paste, the wind at that very mo- [ An. Christis. ment whisked about into an opposite point, and drave them dangerously foul one upon another.

Rochel rende-

This the Rochellers observing from the Walls, gave all for lost, and presently set open their gates; sending out their principall men, not as Commissioners to treat, but as submissive Missives humbly to implore the Kings mercy: which Lewes most compassionately granted them, and entred the City, Olob, the 18, in so civill discipline, as not the least outrage was committed; indeed famine, and other Martiall calamities had made havock enough before, four thousand being the onely remains of twenty two thousand souls. The mighty Works of Fortification were instantly slighted, and the Town fuffering a change of name as well as nature, was ordered to be called from the Queen Mother, Borgo Maria.

But if Rochel was lost Thus, that is, no otherwise then this Narrative declares; what shall we then think of Common Fame, which hath thrown part of her Ruines upon King Charles his head? Either that Charge, or this History must be false: for the faith of this I must be accountant, wherein if I have digressed from the clear evidence of fact, let me suffer. The main Objection against this King is, He lent the French King feven Ships, and with the help of these the Rochel Fleet was destroyed. So then King Charles lent but seven, whereas the Hollanders lent twenty, and lent them directly and articulately against Rochel: yet they were never under any such imputation: but the more numerous the complices, usually the greater is the impunity, not so the innocence; and this is no just answer. I hope this is: First, King Charles lent none: the Loan was from King James; and he who knowes not this, thust not pretend to any cognisance of State Transactions. King Charles onely performed what his Father promised. Secondly, neither were they lent, nor actually fent against Rochel; nay, with expresse caution to the contrary, and the mis-imployment of them the main ground of our breach with France, as appeareth by the Dukes Manifesto. Lastly, this Objection speaks English onely, not a syllable of it in any transmarine Authour, no not in any of those who understood the posture of those transactions better then we, and whose concernment in the losse might better warrant them to make it. In the Memorials of the Duke of Rhoan, not a word of any fuch accusation: the worst-indeed all, they say of our King in this Affair, relates to the ayd he fent for, not at all to that he fent against, them; and that is, Either his Commands were feigned, or ill obeyed. That they were feigned, there is little reason to suspect, the Action of Rhe is too fad a demonstration of the contrary, con-

16281 -52 52 34

An. Christi | sidering the persons, one especially, he did adventure there. If they were ill obeyed, the fault was none of his, who is not responsable for the failings of his Ministers. So that either King Charles must kand acquit of that aspersion, or Truth bring in other evidence against him. This is not more His then mine own Defence; for were his total vindication the concomment of this work, I were then to refolve other niceties.

> It being granted, that the Rochellers were of the same belief with us, and that for the cause of Religion they were persecuted, yet whether a communication of Divine Principles, may sufficiently warrant a communication of Martiall power, for the protection of all those who are like minded with us; where they are the subordinates of a Civil Magistracy otherwise inclined?

> Whether Christ came into the world to dispossesse any of their just Dominions, or to establish the truth of his Religion by force, either in the Entry or Detenier?

> Lastly, Whether the pretended violation of Lewes his Promile, might honest and justific our King's social arming in their behalf, or render him in a capacity to draw his sword for them, who in the opinion of many wanted it for themselves, and to take up Arms had provocations rather great, then just. But these are Questions for a Casuist, not for an Historian to decide.

> Yet one Note may well become the margent of my Story, That not onely that very Sect, but of that very Church, for whose protection King Charles was so sollicitous, and whose supportation he now to ardently endeavoured, became afterwards none of the meanest sticklers and somenters of his Own and this Churches Troubles. A Document to Kings to be wary whom they ayd.

Rochel thus furrendred, fet our Fleet at liberty, so having no-

thing more to do, the Earl plies him home.

During this last expedition news came to our King of some dammage we had fustained; and, as bad news could not be welcome to him, fo was he loath to hear it from his Parliament, and from them he questioned not but to hear what ever untowardly befell, should they fit according to their first intention; therefore hoping the event would render them more pleasing discourse, he adjourned the meeting till January the 20. In the interim there were severall emergences and occurrences which would give them their lands full. For the generality of the Merchants both of the Turkey and the East-India Company refused to pay a penny, under the notion of Tennage and Poundage, which caused a mighty contest betwixt the King and them, he urging the practife of his Predecessors in taking; they, the validity of the Petition of Right in denying; fo that divers of their goods were feized.

1628.

Himbleton house burnt.

Navember 18. about four in the morning a lamentable fire seised upon the Lord wimblesons house in the Strand, it being then the lodging of the States Lieger Ambassadour, which confumed and demolisht it with all the rich furniture and utenfils to the ground; fo ferocient and imperuous it was, as the Amballadour, his wife and children hardly, though half naked. elcaped; all their other apparel, Jewels, money, &c. yea, even the Commission it self perisht in the combustion. Who was the incendiary, or how this calamize was occasioned, no man could tell; most thought it was an effect of the Dutch disorders the night before, who were notably tippled with feasting and jollities for a great prize taken by their Masters from the Spaniards near the Bay of Matanfa, worth a million and a half of treasure. This accident was the more remarkable, because that very night that very Lords Countrey-house in Surrey was a great part blown up by a Candle-spark falling into a barrel of Gun-powder, which a Maid mistook for

Novemb, the 29. Felton having been arraigned, and found Felton execuguilty at the Kings Bench, suffered at Tiburn. His confession ted, was as fincere, and full of remorfe as could be wished; the fact he much detested, and renounced his former errour in conceiving it would be his glory to facrifice himself for his Countreys good: and whereas other motives were suggested by report, he protested upon his falvation, that he had no other inducement then the Parliaments Remonstrance. His body was from thence transmitted to Portsmouth, and there hung in

The Parliament was now approaching, and fomething must A Proclamatibe done to please them, and what could better please them then the gracing of their great Confident the Archbishop of Canterbury? therefore he was fent for to the Court about Christmas, and from out of his Barge received by the Archbilhop of York, and Earl of Dorfet, by them accompanied to the King, who giving him his hand to kiffe, enjoyned him not to fail the Councell-Table twice aweek. After this, Mountagues Book called Appello Cafarem, was called in by Proclamation; and a Declaration prefixe to the thirty nine Articles, restraining all dispute on either fide concerning the five points controverted.

There was then also published another Proclamation for the apprehending of Richard Smith the titular Bilhop of Chalcedon. This Proclamation, faith Mr. Pryn, was procured at the carnest folicitation of the Regular Priests in England and Ireland, who

Raicge ao

An. Christ | violently opposed Dr. Smiths Episcopal Jurisdiction; but Mr. Prop was much mistaken, for that prosecution was not till the year 1630, as shall be evidenced hereafter. And the Impulfive to this proceeding against him, was his endeavour to have perverted some poor filly people in Lancashire; where the holy man appeared in his Pontificalibus, (as horned Mitre and Crolier) amongst a company of Geese.

Frederique E= letter for to the Prince Fle&or drowned.

Fanuary the 16. the Lord Doncaster son to the Earl of Carlile, brought very sad news to Court from the Hague, which put the King and all his train into mourning, viz. That Frederique Henry, eldest son to the Palzgrave, was unfortunately drowned in the Mere of Harlem his Father the Palzgrave very narrowly cleaping: they were going from the Hague to Amsterdam, out of a defire to see the great Prizes brought in, and entring into an Hoy on Harlem Mere, they were benighted, when suddenly role a violent storm, which drave a greater Vessel, then riding in the Mere, so forcibly upon them, as stemm'd them; of about twenty persons there were but three saved, all the rest perisht; his Father was dragged out of the Mere with an iron hook. The Prince clasped his arms about the mast, cryed out for help, and Boats were fent out to relieve him, but the night was dark, and the weather so impetuous, as they could not find him untill morning, when they discovered him clinging about the mast, but stark dead; the Princesse his Mother was newly brought to bed, when this dolefull accident befell her, the news whereof drave her into a most vehement passion.

The Parliament meet.

January the 20, the Parliament sate, who soon found they were like to have work enough: for complaints came thronging in elpecially against the Customers for taking and distraining Merchants goods for Tonnage and Poundage, which the King taking notice of, called them to the Banqueting house, and told them:

The occasion of that Meeting was a complaint made in the Lower House for staying of some mens Goods, for denying Tonnage and Poundage, which difference might be soon decided, were his Words and Actions rightly under stood. For, if he did not take those duties as appendixes of his Hereditary Prerogative, The Reign of King Charles.

and had declared be challenged them not An. Christi, of right, and onely defired to enjoy them by the gift of his People, why did they not passe the Bill, as they promised to him, to clear his by-past actions and future proceedings, especially in this his time of so great necessity?

Therefore he did now expect they should make good what they promised, and put an end to all questions emergent

from their delay.

The House of Commons said, That Religion is above Policy, God above the King; and that they intended to reform Religion before they ingage in any other confideration; nor was it agreeable to the liberty of confultation, to have their transactions prescribed, so that they would for the present lay aside the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage till they thought convenient. And they were as good as their words; for the first thing resolved upon, was the appointment of Committees, (which the Courtiers called an Inquisition). One for Religion, another for Civill affairs; and these to represent the abuses in both.

The Committee for Religion declared, That upon due inspe-Etion they found it in a very tottering and declining condition. The dangers which most threatned it, were Arminianism and Po-

For Arminianism, they said, informations were very pregnant, That, notwithstanding the resolution of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other reverend Bishops and Divines assembled at Lambeth, Anno 1595. on purpose to deliver and declare their opinions concerning the sense of the 39. Articles in those particulars, unto which Resolution the Archbishop of York, and all his Province did then conform in their belief. That notwithstanding those Articles of Lambeth were so well approved of by King James, as he first sent them over, as the Dostrine of our Church, to the Convocation held in Ireland, to be inferted amongst the Articles of Religion there established, Anno 1615. as accordingly they were. And next, to the Synod of Dort, Anno 1618. where they were afferted by the suffrage of our British Divines:

appointedr

Committees

Religion in danger.

An. Christ 1628.

That notwithstanding many several Recantations and Censures inflitted upon the spreaders of those Errours, those very menso censured in open Parliament, as Mountague and Manwaring, (with Cozens and Sibthorp then under question also) had by the procurement and folicitation of Nele Bishop of Winchester, and the Earl of Dorset obtained their pardons under the great Seal, and were not onely Sheltred under the Lee of Royal favour, but through the prevalency of the Bishops of Winchester and London, advanced to great preferment, whilest the Orthodox party were depressed, and under inolorious disdain, and the truth they served, was scarce able to protest them to impunity.

The hazard conceived from Rome, and the fear least Tibur Should overflow the Thames, flowed, they faid, from partly the unconirolled publishing of several points tending and warping that way, by Mountague, Goodman, Cozens, and others; and from the audacious obtruding of divers superstitions ceremonies by the Prelates, as eredling of fixed Altars, the dopping and cringing towards them, franding up at Gloria Patri. But thefe were but part-loyled Popery, but Popery oblique; the greatest danger was from Popery arrest.

And from this the danger (they faid) appeared very great; Informations came daily in, of the mighty progresse and increase of it within these few years, the contest whereof was proved by these particulars : That (for Ireland) in the City of Dublin, there were lately erefled thirteen Houses for Pricits and Fryers to oficiate in, more in number then the Parochial Churches for the Protestants. For Scotland, that the Papists have been of late very insolent and turbulent there. For England, that in some Counties they are multiplyed to the product of some thousands of Families, more then there were in Queen Elizabeth her time; That of shofe ten who were apprebended at Clarkenwell, at the Sessions 3. of December last, three of Treason, and the rest of Premunire; and direct Treason proved against three of them at the Session, Mr. Selden leing then prefent and testissing as much; yet by the artifice of the two chief Lord Juffices, Hide, and Richardson, in Suppressing Juffice Longs etidence, nothing was done against them, fare that one was condemned, and, the day before Execution, nas repriezed, by warrant from the Chief Justice, who pretended he did it by the Kings Command. Lastly, the excessive refort of Romish Catholiques to Masse at Somerset House, being so frequent, yet so connived at; and the penalty of Statutes through his Majesties overmuch indulgence so dispensed with, little differing from a Toleration. This was the Certificate of the Committee for Religion.

Abules in the Civil State.

The other for inspection into Civill affairs reported,

That upon fearch they find the Petition of Right printed with the Kings first Answer, which gave the Parliament no Satisfaction, for which the Printer being questioned, he confessed upon examination,

that during the high Selsion of this Parliament one thousand five hundred Copies were printed authentique, and without that addition: and that fince that Session he had order from the Atturney Generall to reprint it with that Addition. That many Merchants have had their goods seised, and informations preserr'd against them in the Star-Chamber, for refusing to pay the customes of Tonnage and Poundage; Impositions against the tenour of the Petition of Right, and against the priviledge of Parliament, one of these Merchants, viz. Mr. Rolls, being a Member of the House of Commons.

For which mildemeanours Sir John wortham, the Patentee of the Customes, Mr. Dawes, and Mr. Carmarthen, sharers with him, were called to account. The King finding these men under the lash, steps in to bear off, or to bear the blows; tells the Parliament, That what they did was but as men addicted to his command, nor did he Commission them to take it as of right belonging to him, but out of a firm presumption that the House of Commons, suitable to their large professions, would grant it him by Bill; which he now exceedingly defired they would dispatch, and so put an end to this dispute,

To this the Parliament replyed, That the Customers had no Warrant from his Majesty for all they did, as he did misunderstand, for they have diligently read his Majesties Warrant to the Customers, and it only impoweres them to levy and collect the moneys, but not to seize the Merchants goods, and are centurable for extravagants from their Commission. And as to the passing the Bill, they craved his Majesties pardon for a while, both because they were at present intent upon matters of Religion; and they hoped he would not be offended if they served God in the first place, and also because at present, his Majesty had put them our of capacity to do it; for in his Warrant, formerly mentioned, Tonnage and Poundage are declared to be a Principal revenue of his Crown; if so, he had no cause to demand, nor they to grant what was his own already; therefore unlesse that expression may be rectified, or cancell'd the Record, and his Majesty will be content that the Bill may expressely and positively set forth his no right to it, but by the gift of his subjects, they cannot rationally grant it. The King perceiving their intention still was to sever the Customers act from his command, thereby to make them the more exposed to censure for Delinquency, and judging it highly concerned his honour to indemnifie them, iterated his defires again to them in a Message sent by Secretary Coke, That they would defift from further molesting these men, intimating withall, that what they did was by his speciall direction. The House in much distaste at this Message, instantly cty'd, Adjourn, Adjourn, The Parliaand so they did, untill the Wednesday following, on which

An . Christi. 1628.

A great difference between the King and Parliament.

ment adjourned,

An. Christi 1629. 

And again.

Iday the King also by the advice of his Privy Councel Adjourned them untill the 2.of March: hoping thereby, that giving them the more time to cool of themselves, it would soften their temper. But having certain intelligence from his correspondents in the Lower House, that the heat did rather intend then relax, herefolved to Adjourn again untill the 10.0f Warch. But the House being met on the 2. of March, up riseth Sir John Eliot in the morning, and makes a tart and stinging speech against the Lord Treasurer, fixing all the ills both of Church and State upon him, and in particular charging him with a defign of transferring the English Trade to Forrainers. What he then delivered, was in part prognosticated by the King, who knew it even an Embryo, and in the first conception; for it rarely happens, that what many know, none will discover, be it a secret of never so great importance, especially where men are, as these were, of a free and open spirit. Sir John's invective being ended, the Speaker declared a message from the King, commanding an Adjournment untill the 10. of that instant, wherewith the House being discontented, told him, It was not within the verge of his Office to deliver fuch a Message, that Adjournment properly belonged to themselves, and that in time convenient they would satisfie the Kings pleasure: then again uprifeth Sir John with a Remonstrance, which he presented to the reading: but both the Speaker and Clerk refused it, and being restored to him, he read it himself, the substance being to this effect:

That they had taken into confideration the forming of a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage, but were so overlaid with the presfures of other businesse, and found that affair it self a matter so perplext with severall difficulties, which would require much leisure to discharge, that at that time accomplish it they could not, this present Session moving (as they conjectured) apace to determination. And lest his Majesty should hereafter (as formerly he did) incline to the advice of fervile spirits, or be abused into a perswasion that he might legally and justly receive those Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, they humbly declare to him, That the laying any fuch Imposition upon the Subject is contrary to the fundamentall Law of the Kingdom, and to his Majesties late Answer to the Petition of Right. And therefore they lowly crave his Majesty would for the future forbear such Taxes, and not to take ill the refusal of his people, to what is demanded by Arbitrary and unwarran-

table power.

This Remonstrance being read, the Speaker was moved to put it to the Vote, whether it should be presented to the King, yea, or nay. But he craved pardon, alledging, That the King ex-

presly ordered him to leave the House, and attempting to [ An. Christi, rile from his Chair he was by force and strong hand stayed, Mr. Hollis swearing, (so my information hath it) a deep Oath, that he should fit still as long as they pleased; and when neither threats nor reproaches could prevail, Sir Peter Hayman moved Mr. Hollis to read these ensuing Articles as the Protestation of the House.

1629.

1. whosoever shall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by savour feek to introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other Opinions difagreeing from the true and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capir tal Enemy to this Kingdome and Common-weal.h.

The Protestation of the Commons.

2. Whosoever shall counsel, or advise the taking and levying of the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capital Enemy to this Common-wealth.

3. If any man shall voluntarily yield, or pay the said Subsidies of Tonnage or Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to this Common-wealth.

These he pronouncing with a loud voyce, the House gave their Epiphonema and applause at every close and period.

These distempers continued so long, and with so quick-and high a pulse, as the King had early notice of them, who forthwith fent for the Serjant of the Mace, but the House would not permit him to depart, but taking the Key of the door from him, gave it to Sir Miles Hobart a Member of the House to keep. The King deeply incenfed at these exceedings of contempt, sent Maxwell Usher of the Black Rod to dissolve the Parliament; but neither he nor his message would be admitted, whereupon the King much enraged fent for the Captain of the Pensioners, and the guard to force an entrance. But this Pasfion, that shut out the King, yet let so much reason in, as perfwaded them it was good fleeping in a whole skin, and understanding the Kings intention, they suddenly voided the House.

Soon after this, that very morning, the King came into the Lords House, and bespake them thus;

102

A1. . Ch. 11/11 1628.

The Kings Speech at the diffulution of the Parliament.

My Lords,

T Never came here upon fo unpleafant an occasion, it being the dissolution of a Parliament: Therefore men may have some cause to wonder. why I should not rather chuse to do this by Commission, it being a generall Maxime of Kings, to leave harsh Commands to their Ministers, themfelves only executing pleasing things. Yet considering, that Justice as well confists in reward and praise of virtue, as punishing of vice, I thought it neceffary to come here to day to declare to you, and all the World, That it was meerly the undutifull and seditious carriage of the Lower House, that hath made the diffolution of this Parliament. And you, my Lords, are so far from being causes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutifull demeanours, as I am justly distasted with their proceedings. Yet to avoid mistakings, let me tell you, that it is so far from me to adjudge all that House guilty, that I know there are many there as dutifull Subjects as any in the world, it being but some few Vipers amongst

The Reign of King Charles.

amongst them, that cast this mist of do. Christi undutifulness over most of their eyes; vet to fay truth, there was a good number there, that could not be infected with this contagion, infomuch that some did expresse their duties in speaking, which was the general fault of the House the last day. To conclude, as these Vipers must look for their reward of punishment, so you, my Lords, must justly expect from me that favour and protection, that a

good King oweth to his loving and du-

tifull Nobility.

And now my Lord Keeper do what I Commanded you.

The King having thus diffolved the Parliament, or rather broke | The King sets up School, thought those whom he now called Vipers had not in the House of Commons spit up all their malignity, but reserved fome to disperse and dispose of in the Countrey, whereby an illiodour might be cast upon his Government, and the hearts of his people alienated from him: as an Antidote therefore against that poyson, and to anticipate all mis-understanding, he speedeth out a Declaration, setting forth to all his Subjects the motives perswading him to dissolve the Parliament, and a breviate of all the transactions in this, and the former Session; withall minding them in the close of all, that the Duke of Bucking ham was decry'd, while he lived, as the folitary caufe of all bad events of former Parliaments; that he is dead, and yet the distempers not in the least abated, which he takes as an argument that they were mistaken in the cause, and that it was resident in some sew members of the Parliament.

Kings, love to be treated with the most obliging caresses and

An. Christit debonait comportment that may be. And usually they derive asperity, not so much from innate and inbred proclivity, as from the protervity and incomplyingnesse of their people, an humour able to fowre and change the best dispositions. They who shall cast a reflex upon those wofull miseries which were the confequences of this unhappy dif-union, may perhaps find cause to think, they could not have been worse, possibly better, had the Parliament been more complacent. But 'tis no wonder to find failings in the concrete masse, when in solutis principiis, and taken afunder, every unit exhibits and sheweth no lesse. True it is, in assemblies so august, so majestique, all things thould be managed with the greatest repose of passion, the Senatours should be like their Laws, void of anger. But men will be ever men whatsoever they be, be they Christians, wherefoever they be, be they convened in Parliament; their frailties, their passions, yea and their interests too, they will carry along with them, which made Gregory Nazianzen complain of Councels, That he never fam any one end well; and what he faid of Councels, King Charles might with as much verity, have pronounced (as to his content) of Parliaments, not any one he fummoned having had any termination other then disgustfull to him.

Naz. Epist.

Many Members question.

The King having, as he hoped, dif-abused the Subject by his late Declaration, next intended to proceed severely against those who had offended him, and whose punishment, he said, he re-served to a due time. Upon this account the 18. of this moneth, he fent for ten of the late Members to appear at the Councel Table, viz. Mr. Hollis, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Eliot, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Stroud, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Long, Mr. Kirton. Those appearing, Mr. Hollis was interrogated, Wherefore (contrary to his former use) he did, the morning the Parliament was diffolved, place himself by the Chair, above divers of the Privie Counfellors?

He answered.

That he had some other times as well as then, seated himself in that place. And as for his sitting above the Privie Counsellors, he took it to be his due in any place what soever (unlesse at the Coun-sel-board): And, for his part, he came into the House with as much zeal to do The Reign of King Charles.

bis Majestie Service as any one what so- an christi, ever; And yet neverthelesse, finding his Majestie was offended with him, he bumbly desired that he might rather be the subject of his mercy, then of his power.

To which the Lord Treasurer answered, You mean; rather of his Majesties Mercy, then of his Justice.

Mr. Hollis reply'd, I say of his Majesties power, my Lord.

Sir John Eliot next call'd in, was questioned for words he spake in the Lower-House of Parliament, and for producing the last Remonstrance.

To this he answered.

That what soever was said or done by him in that place, and at that time, was performed by him as a publick man, and a Member of that House, and that he was, and ever will be ready to give an account of his sayings and doings in that place whensoever he should be called unto it by that House, where (as he taketh it ) he is only to be questioned, and in the mean time being now but a private man, he would not now trouble himself to remember what he said or did in that place as a publick man.

Sir Miles Hobart was also questioned for locking the Parliament House door, and putting the key in his pocket: to which he pleaded the Command of the House.

The other Gentlemen were questioned for reproving the Speaker, and not permitting him to do what the King commanded him, who all alledged in their defence the Priviledge of the House.

After this they were committed, some to the Tower, some to the Gate-house, and some to the Fleet; and May the I, the Atturney fent a processe out against them to appear in the Star-Chamber, and to answer an information to be entred there against them: but they refused; as denying the Jurisdiction of that Court over offences done in Parliament: which created the greatest and longest Controversie in Law that had been started of many years.

About the latter end of March, the Marquesse Huntley (with the Earls of Arol, Athol, Nidsdale, and Abercorn, of the Scottish land about the Nobility) came running away to the Court of England, as fast Marquesse as his old legs could carry him, being 72, years aged; his cold

An. Christi

Countrey being grown too hot for him : the occasion this;

The Marquelle was hereditary Sheriff of a great part of Scotland, where his Land lay. At Alerden, the Papills posted up a treacherous libel: not long after which, the Priests and Tefuits faid Masse openly. This coming to the Councels hearing. they wrote to the Marquelle, as high Sheriff, to cause with all speed those Priess and their abettors to be apprehended, and fafely fent to Edinburgh, yet not prescribing any certain day. The Marquelle took the Letters, neglected the fervice, and gave no account to the Councel: whereupon they wrote a fecond Letter, commanding him that the fervice be done by a precise day, and that himfelf appear also before them to answer the contempt. Notwithstanding all this, the Marques still neglected. and in stead of apprehending them, gave them notice to estape; but fent in the interim to the Councel, craving a longer day. The Councel would not grant it, but instantly caused the Herald in his coat of Arms to wind the Horn thrice, and at every time to fummon the Marques and the Earls. Mone of which appearing, the Herald proclaimed them Rebels to the King and Kingdome. And while the Council was plotting to apprehend them, they took their flight for England.

The next moneth returned Sir Henry Fane from the Hague, his errand thither was to make a tender (formerly offered when the Spanish Match was on foot) to the Lady Elizabeth from the Emperour of thirty thousand pounds per annum, for her maintenance, and a place of habitation within the Palatinate, upon condition, she should fend her eldest son to be educated in the Emperours Court, and to marry one of his Daughters: whereunto she (mistaking the message to be the Kings desire, which was but his bare proposal) magnanimously replyed; I do honour my Brother of England, as becomes me, yet he is but a man, and may fail me; God never for sook me yet, and I am consident never will. Ana rather then I would suffer my child to be bred in Idolatry, I would cut his throat with mine own hand. So erect a mind had she in her

lowest state.

This Spring the Queen (some say frighted with some boysterousnesse of a mastisf towards her little clogs in the Presence Chamber) not compleating her proper time of gestation, aborted of a son; yet having life in him, her Priests were wondrous carnesse to baptize him, but the King stepping in prevented them, and charged Dr. web to essistate, and name him Charles. he lived about an hour, and then expired.

Peace between Prante and EnglandAbout the same time also, the Seigniory of Venice by her Ambassadors was industrious to procure amity between the Crowns of England and France, and Lenes being in his Trans-Alpine Expedition at Susa for the relief of Casal, they procured it model'd into these entuing Articles.

1. That

I. That the two Kings shall accord to renew the former Alliance between the two Crowns, and to preserve it inviolable with free commerce. And in reference to the said commerce liberty is given, that such things be proposed, as either part shall judge convenient either to adde or diminish.

2. That, considering it is very difficult to make restitution of what hath been taken as prize, as well on one side as the other, during the late Wars; it is agreed between the two Crowns, that for what is past no satisfaction shall be demanded

on either side.

3. As to the Articles and Contract of Marriage of the Queen of Great Britain, they shall be confirmed, and for what concerneth her Domestiques it shall be lawful to propose what shall be thought expedient to be either added or diminished.

4. All former Alliances shall stand good between the two Crowns, saving where-in they shall be changed by this present

Treaty.

5. The two Kings being by this present Treaty remitted to the affection they formerly had, shall respectively imploy this correspondence toward the assistance of

2 thei

affairs, and the generall good will permit) for the procuring the repose of the troubles of Christendom.

6. The premises being established on both sides, Persons of eminency shall be reciprocally dispatcht as Ambassadours on either part for ratification of the accord and for nomination of Agents ordinarily resident at either Court, for the

better preserving this union.

7. And because many Ships are now at Sea with Letters of Marque, who cannot suddenly take cognizance of this Peace, it is agreed, that what shall occur in the nature of hostility for the space of two moneths, on either side, shall not prejudice, nor derogate from this agreement. Provided notwithstanding, that what shal be made prize of within that space of two moneths after signature, shall be restored on eirher fide.

- 8. Lastly, the two Kings shall respetively sign the present Articles, the 14. of this present month of April, and at the same time they shall be consigned into the bands of the Lords Ambassadours of Venice to deliver reciprocally to the two Kings at a day prefixt. And from the

day of signing all acts of hostility shall du. Christicease; towhich end, Proclamation shall be issued out in both Kingdoms the 20. day of May.

Nothing was wanting now to the perfecting of this League, but the ultime and compleating Act, the folemn confirmation by Oath. To which intent, Ambassadors were sent on both sides the September following. From England, Sir Thomas Edmunds, Controller of the Kings house, From France, the Marques of Cha fleau-neuf, who had both of them reception agreeable to the me-

rit of the Design.

The King had all the reason in the world to bid peace welcome; for Martial Affairs, be they conducted by never fo mature advice, or carryed on with never fo gallant refolution, have yet a great dependence upon the arbitriment of Fortune; and Fortune the King had fadly felt, in the dispensation of Victory. ever lookt another way. Again, he was finew-shrunk, and wantee money, the finews of war, his Exchequer being profoundly dry, and one of the noblest and beneficial Springs, nor obstructed, but cut off. This his condition, was observed abroad, as well as at home; and by his enemies, as well as friends; and his felicity it was, that those enemies which observed it, were in no capacity to make any other advantage of it then Overtures of Peace. And this was now the grand ambition of that ambitious Monarch, the King of Spain, who was by many late confiderable misfortunes brought low. So low, as Palquin posted him up in Rome, in a Fryers habit, asking Marforius, whose Pisture that was ? Marforius replyed, The King of Spains. Pafquin demands the reason; Because, said Marforins, He had lately taken three coms upon him, One of Poverty, ever fince the Hollanders took the West-India Fleet. The other of Obedience, since the French with words and gestures onely made them quit Casal, and all Montserrat. And lastly, of Chastity, when his grand Pimp the Conde de Olivares Shall give him leave.

To solicite this Peace, Peter Reuben, the famous rich Painter of Antwerp, Secretary and Gentleman of the Chamber to the Arch-Duchefs, as Agent, was transmitted hirher, and bad very fair for it, tendering the restitution of the lower Palatinate, then which nothing was more magnetique and attractive, had the Spanish Faith been as good as his Gold : But that was reprobated all over the Western World; fo as Marquesse Spinola being told of this prodigious offer, faid, The King of Spain may gild his design with what promises he please; but, sure I am, he meaneth nothing seffe then the restitution of the Palatinate. Anteocdent experience

An. Christ 1629.

of the juggling practites of the Spaniard, did much retard the progress of the League, and Reuben was not plenipotentiary enough to accomplish that work; but it was referred for a Don of more illustrious grandure, and he was not yet arrived.

In Trinity Term, the Judges were much urged to declare their Opinions concerning the demurrer of the Gentlemen Prisoners, about the power of the Star-chamber; but that was a tender point, loth they were to displease the King, and as loth to blemish their reputation with prevaricating from the Law, so that they feigned many an excuse, and put off; at length, the King being at Greenwich, fent for them all twelve; Mr. Atturney was Turn-key, pro tempore, and let them in single at one door, and they went away at another. As they entred, one by one, the King commanded them to declare boldly, without respect to fear or favour under their hands what they thought; feven of them, by name, Richardson, Yelverton, Hutton, Harrey, Crook, the Lord chief Baron, and Baron Denham, these offered to subscribe their Opinions, That the Star-Chamber had no Jurisdiction over Parliament offences; the other five diffented, but refused to subscribe, whereat the King was exceeding wroth; and chid them foundly, as the betrayers of him, to the belief of what was repugnant to the Law.

A fray in Fleetstreet.

Soon after the Term, July the 10, towards night, there happened a scurvy fray in Fleetstreet. For one Captain Bellingham, late at the Isle of khe, being that afternoon arrested, some Genilemen of the Temple made an attempt towards his rescue so far, as some were hurt, and carryed to prison: thereupon the Gentlemen of the Temple assembled, made a Barricado about St. Dunstans Church; which the Lord Mayor being informed of the and the Sheriffs, with a Band of Train men, came down and made Proclamation, That, upon pain of Rebellion, the whole Assembly should dissolve: But the Gentlemen prepared for resistance, and being armed with Swords and Pistols, to the number of 5. or 600. they gave fire upon the Lord Mayors Militia, killed out-right five, and wounded neer an hundred: The King was fo highly incenfed at the news of this uproar, as he prefently fent for the Lord Chief Justice up to London, resolving to have a Session extraordinary, for the arraignment of the Malefactors: at which being held in Guild-Hall about a Fortnight after, two Captains, A]hurst, and Stamford, (the Dukes servant, and famous Wrastler)were found guilty, condemned, and executed at Tyburn. Stamfords Relatives made great means to the King for his life: but he faid; No, he murdered a watchman tefore, at Duke Humphries, for which he was pardoned, and having committed another, I will take order to prevent the third.

In the beginning of November, the Earls of Bedford, Somerfet,

and Clare, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Selden, Mr. Saint-John, and others, [ An. Christi, were committed, and an information entred in the Star Chamber against them, for dispersing Copies of a Discourse, being a Rhapfordy of Projects, tending to the augmentation of the Kings Revenue, and to discover an impertinence in Parliaments : It was pretended to have been penned for the instruction of the King, but it was a false suggestion, and discovered by Sir David Forles upon Oath, that it was contrived about 1613, by Sir Robert Dudly (then living at Florence, under the title of Duke of Northum terland, being first Son to Robert Earl of Leicester, who was Son to John Duke of Northumberland )whereupon the Bill fell to the ground.

Fanuary the 1. Don Carlos de Colomas, now twice Ambassadour from Spain to England, arrived, and had audience fix days after, at the Banquetting-house; his deportment and mean was more debonair then usual, and therefore promised better of his Ne-

gotiation. The Pitcher that goes oft to the water, at length returns home crackt; and in Hillary Term, the Gentlemen Prisoners arguing their plea by their Councel at the Kings-Bench-Bar, against the power of that Court, to question any thing done in Parliament, the Judges of the Kings Bench delivered their opinions positively that their crimes were within the cognizance of the Court, For elfessaid they, should a Parliament man commit murder in time of Parliament, he cannot be tryed nor arraigned untill a new Parliament; and for confirmation of their Opinions, they quoted many Precedents, especially that of Plowden in Queen Mary's time; who was fined in the Kings Bench, for words spoke in Parliament, against the Dignity of the Queen. Hereupon the Gentlemen had a time prefixt them to bring in their Answer; but they making several defalts, sentence was pronounced against them, they being deeply fined, and confined, untill they should enter bond for their good behaviour; which some of them would

never yield to, and ended their days in Prison. April the 10 dyed william Earl of Pembreke, and Lord High Steward of England, of an Apoplexy; the night before he supped with the Countels of Bedford at Devonshire house, without Bishops-gate, very jocund he was at Supper, especially rejoycing that the day before, being his Birth-day, he had attained the age of 50. years, hoping now he should reach his Fathers account, who lived till 64, and to fee many happy days. After Supper, he retired to Baynara's Castle his house, where he sate up till midnight, and was very well: but after he had been a while in bed ( his Lady by him ) he fetcht a most profound groan, whereat the not being able to wake him, thricked out for company, who coming in, found him speechlesse, in which condition, he remained till 8 next morning, and then dyed. It was faid,

1629.

I 630. of Pembroke An. Chilli 1629; 

that Mr. Auen, a Mathematician at Oxford, had calculated his Nativity many years before, and could not give any hopes of his life beyond his 50. year. He dyed intestate, and left of debts to pay eighty thousand pounds. He was scarce cold before the Earl of Arundel begg'd the custody of his Countess, upon pretence that she was not mentis compos, and crackt in her brain; and because his Son the Lord Maltravers was her next Heir in right of his Mother, Sifter and Coheir with her and the Counteffe of Kent; all three being the Inheretrices of the Earl of Shrensbury's Estate. But her affection stood more inclined to her Brother the Earl of Mountgomery, and therefore the King granted him the disposition of her.

His Character

He was the very Picture and vive Effigies of Nobility; His Person rather Majestique, then elegant; his presence, whether quiet, or in motion, full of stately gravity; his mind generous and purely heroique, often stout, but never disloyal; so vehement an opponent of the Spaniard, as when that Match fell under confideration, he would fometimes rouze to the trepidation of King James, yet kept in favour still; for that King knew plain dealing (as a jewel in all men, so) was in a Privy Counseller an Ornamental duty; and the same true-heartednesse commended him to King Charles, with whom he kept a most admirable correspondence, and yet stood the firm Consident of the Commonalty; and not by a fneaking cunning, but by an creet and generous prudence, such as rendred him unsuspected of ambition on the one fide, as of Faction on the other. This universality of affection, made his losse most deplorable. But men are lost, when all turns to forgotten dust: That affection would not that he should be non-pluit so, but kept his Noble same emergent and alost: and if this History shall bear it up, I shall think it not more his felicity, then mine own.

An. Christi 1630. 5

This Spring the Royal stemme germinated, and put forth another gemme, the Queen being delivered May the 29. of her fecond Son, not living onely, but lively; Surpassing exultation there was thereat, and all the Court kept Jubile; all the great ones, both Lords and Ladies, went now on Maying to St. Jameses, to see the Royal Blessing, and Hope of England; yea, to see that Babe, to behold whom Heaven it felf feemed to open one Eye more then ordinary: There being at his Nativity, very visible at London, a Star, though neer high noon day. Such Asterisks and Celestial Signatures assist to times so remarkable as this, usually are ominous, prophetically hinting and pointing out somewhat future of eminent contingency. But what the English of this Apparition is, and what it mentally portends to us, I am not Fortuneteller enough to say : in truth such things are best, that is, safest interpreted, when accomplished. June the 27. he was in

most refulgent pomp carryed to the facred Font, and named An. Christi Charles. God-fathers and Witnesses were the King of France, and the Prince Elector, represented by the Duke of Lennox, and Mar. queste Hamilton: of the other fex the Queen Mother of France whose substitute was the Dutchese of Richmond.

In the mean time the King was in contemplation with his brother An Embaffathe Palizgrave's preffures and how to relieve him; and because dor feat into

he gave but slender credit to the Spanish promises, and had intelligence of a Dict and generall Affembly to be kept at Ratisbone this Summer, he sent over Sir Robert Anstrutber in the quality of an Ambaffadour, who arriving there, and being admitted to audience

before the Emperour and Estates of Germany, he delivered his mes-

fage to this effect.

That nothing did affect his Master the King of Great Brittain more, then the consideration of the daily calamities undergone by his Brother the Prince Elector, his Wife and Children; that he deemed no place more expedient where to treat of their reconciliation, and re-establishment then in this Diet; therefore he made it his most ardent request to his Imperial Majesty, that having regard to the many intercessions of his late Father, and other Kings and Princes, he would remit the diffleasure conseived against his Brother, and recall the profesiption iffued out against him. True it is his Brother had effended, and was inexculably quilty, (unlesse the rashnesse and precipitation of youth may somewhat plead for him: ) but others had been as culpable as be, whom yet his Imperiall Majesty received into grace and favour, and would be be pleased to extend to him the same clemency, it would oblige his Master to demonstrations of deepest gratitude, and raise a glorious emulation in others to imitate fo Majestique a pattern. That the Palizgrave would entertain this favour with an heart fo firmly devoted to his service, as all the intention of his spirit should be disposed to compensation and reparation of his by-past miscarriages: That his Master held nothing so dear, as the affection of his Imrerial Majefty, and establishment of a durable peace between them. And as upon all occasions he hath been forward to represent himselfe solicitous of it, so at this time he is ready to give more ample Testimony, if his Imperial Majesty be pleased to incline to 4 Treaty.

The Emperour and Estates gave Sir Robert fair respect, but as to his message recurred answer, that the present affairs of Germany, which called them thither, were of that important concernment, as they would not admit of any forain debate; but when leifure ferved, the King his Master should have such satisfaction as would be agreeable to their honor, and they hoped to his content. Thus the Ambassador returned reinfecta.

Leighton a fiery Scot this year was met with, his Sions Plea brought

1620.

An. Christi 1630. Leighton a Scot centured.

brought him to stand in need of the Balme of Gilead, That wilde Pamphlet was wrote during the late Parliament, and to them dedicated; in that he excited the Parliament and people to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fift rib; he inveighed against the Queen, calling her the Daughter of Heth, a Canaanite, and Idolatresse. For these and other seditious passages, he was sentenced in the Star-Chamber to have his ears cropt, his nose slit, his forehead stigmatized, and to be whipped. But be tween fentence and execution, he made an escape out of the Fleet, but by better hap to the Warden then to himselte, was re-taken in Bedfordshire, & underwent the punishment.

Peace between England and

Now began we & Spain to cement again, the peace being driven to the head, and fully compleated, the Articles were precisely the same with those concluded formerly betweene King Fames and Philip the third, and for the Palatinate, no further engagement, but only, that the King of Spain should dispose of all his interest in the Emperour towards the restitution of his Brother the Prince Elector. But it was a Peace and though not in all points fully adequate to the Kings content, yet readily embraced because he was not then in state to better it. But though the Peace was none of the best, yet was the folemnity in publication thereof none of the least, yea not inferiour to others of much higher availes.

On Sunday, Novemb: the 27-it was by the whole College of Heralds mounted on horseback, in their rich Surcoats, proclaimed both at White-hall Gate, and in Pauls Churchyard, and at Cheapside Crosse; the Lord Major with his confraternity of Aldermen also mounted, and in their Scarlets. On Tuesday the King and the Spanish Ambasfador descended into the chappell, continuing in their traverses untill an Anthymne was fung. Then the Bishop of London (Land) as Dean of the Chappell, attended by three other Bishops, all in their Copes, ascended up to the Altar with a Latine Bible in his hand. Then the King and Ambassador issuing out of the Traverses, the King laid his hand on the Book, whilest Secretary Cooke read the Outh; and that done, he kist it, signing withall the Articles of the Peace, which he delivered up to the Spanish Ambassador. After this they all went up to the Banquetting house, where a most princely and sumptuous dinner was provided for them.

But the Subject paid the reckoning. For his Majesty being stimulated with want and disgusting Parliaments was enforced to call in the aid of his Prerogative. By a Tax which long disuse had made a Novelty; one would thinke for that very cause, the more taking, but it prov'd not so; and though Men, English especially, are naturally new-fangled, and enamoured with Novelties, yet in the point of Tributes and Payments it is otherwise. The Taxe, with the Originalls of its Imposition, a thing known to very few, I shall set downe, for as well their Extraction, as the

Persons and Things themselves, are the design of History. By the Common Law there was vested in the Kings of this Realm, a power to summon (by their Writs out of the Chancery) all persons possessing a Knights-fee, and who had no speciall Priviledge to the contrary, to appear at their Coronations, ad arma militia gerenda: that is, to present rhemselves before the Lord High Chamberlain, who (if the Kings service so required) was to deliver out of the Kings Wardrobe to every man (as the Ensignes of Knighthood; a belt and furcoat; and if upon four dayes attendance they were not imployed, they might depart every man to his seve-

rall home. But they who made default of appearance, were to submit to fine; and this was now the case of almost all the Kingdome: for his Majesty having iffued our his Writs of summons to the Sheriffs of all the Counties and Cities in England, very few appeared: whereupon in August last, his Majesty sent forth Commissions to feverall Knights and others, persons of quality in all Counties, to inquire into, and compound with all defaulters, who had Estates of 40. 1. per an. and were obnoxious to the mulct; upon which ac-

count there was this Term, brought into the Exchequer at least One hundred thousand pounds. This peace between England and Spain begata warre in Eng. The Jesuits

land and Ireland between Spain and France, I meane between the and fecular Priess at odds Fesuites, who are the profest clientelaries and vassalls of the Catholique King, and the fecular Priests, men more addicted to the King of France: the radix and ground of this contest was this.

The Papacy having in England and Ireland her emissaries for the planting of a Gospell which Christ nor his Apostles never dreamt of, expedient it was thought both for the ordaining of Priests, and confirmation of persons baptized, that a Bishop should be fent amongst them; to which purpose Pope Gregory the 15 delegated one William Bishop, entituled the Bishop of Chalcedon, who came over in Aug. 1623. when the Spanish Match was thought compleated. Anno 1614 Bishop died, after him succeeded by mission from Urban the 8, anno 1625, Richard Smith with the same title; Smith was a busie fellow, and tooke upon him more then Bishop, for he arrogated to himselfe the approbation of such regular Priests as were to be standing Confessors; which the Fesuites thought an usurpation upon their Jurisdiction, whereupon a conspiracy is entred to dispatch him hence, a Declaration is contrived under the name of the most Noble and eminent Catholiques against his pretended authority, withall afferting all sufficient power in the Regulars to all those intents, and the no necessity of having any Bishop at all. This Declaration in the nick of his departure hence, for Spain, to prevent more satisfactory informations, was offered to the Spanish Ambassador Don Carlos de Coloma. And the Bishop so persecuted by the Fesuites, as finding himselfe in no capacity

An. Christi 1630. The Taxe of Knighthood.

An. Christi

1630.

An. Christi 1630. 

of standing an open contest by reason of his skulking condition. caused through the Kings, Proclamation against him, he was enforced to seeke his safety abroad, and escaped into France. Smith thus frighted away from his charge, one Kellison Rector of the Colledge of Doway, in a Tract vindicates the authority and divine right of Episcopacy; but Knott, Vice provinciall of the English Fesuites, and Flood, another Fesuite of Saint Omers, undestooke Kellisons confutation, and their Bookes were no sooner extant, but being discust by the Colledge of Sorbon, were by the Faculty of Paris censured and condemned. But the Controversie flept not so, but was reciprocated and bandied from one fide to another in infinitum, as you may reade at large in Aurelius.

Nor was this bickering the only product of our peace, but the Romish Catholiques began to rant it in Ireland, and to exercise their fancies called Religion so publiquely, as if they had gained a Toleration. For whilest the Lords Fustices were at Church in Dublin, on Saint Stephens day they were celebrating Maffe, which the Lords Justices taking notice of, they fent the Arch bishop of Dublin, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder of the town to apprehend them; which they did, taking away the Crucifixes, Chalices, and Paraments of the Altar, the Souldiers hewing down the Image of S. Francis. The Priests and Friers were delivered into the hands of the Pursevants, at whom the people threw stones and rescued them. The Lords Fustices informed of this, fent a guard and delivered them, and clapt eight Popish Aldermen by the heeles for not attending their Mayor. Upon the account of this prefumption, fifteen houses by direction from the Lords of the Councell here were feifed to the Kings use, and the Friers and Priests so persecuted, as two hanged themselves in their own defence.

This winter the Marquesse Hamilton was very active in mustering up his Forces for the King of Swedens assistance against the next Spring, and the King hastened him to dispatch his levy with all the speed he could, in regard he had fresh and certaine intelligence of a very great victory that the King had lately obtained against the Imperialists; Tilly, it seemes, conducted a numerous Army of Thirty three thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse for the reliefe of Rostock, then besieged by the King of Sweden: the King alarum'd at his comming, drew out of his crenches Seventeene thousand Foot, and Six hundred Horse to entertaine him. The first encounter was sharp, and cost the King above a thousand men; whereat the King fired with gallant courage, came undauntedly up to the Count, and gave him so terrible a shock, as made his Vantguard to brandle, disordered both Battail and Reere, routed all the Imperial! Army, flew Three thousand on the place, took Sixteene Pieces of Ordinance, Thirty Enfignes, Thirty two Cornets of Horse; and immediately stormed the Town and carryed it.

For the incouragement of the Marquesse in this expedition, the King gave him the impost upon the Wines in Scotland, which would amount to Twenty thousand pounds per annum; and as a great part of their maintenance was to be derived from Scotland, to were the Auxiliaries themselves to consist for the most part of that Nation. For the King of Sweden had by experience found them not unlike his Fin-landers, both frout and hardy: while these forces were raising, a Scot, then in the Swedish fervice asked the King how his Countrey-men should be maintained? How are the Emperours Souldiers, faid he, maintained? With money, answered the Scot If then quoth the King, your Steel be better then theirs, their money will be yours, if it be not better, why will your Countrey-men crosse the Seas to be beaten in Germany:

Now I am abroad, before I recall my discourse home, permit a Ambigna masshort transition to the enemies quarters, and there to take in an odde facte in part accident which soon after befell, and is relative to the affairs of England. Eighteen Hollanders (whereof three had been actours in the English Tragedy at Amboyna) Supping at Frankfort, as they were passing to Straiburgh, boasted in their cups, what they had done to our nation in that Iland, which one in their company observing, related it to two English Captains of horse then in service of the Emperour, and two of whose kindred suffered there. These two Captains having notice which way the Hollanders were to passe, way-laid them in a wood with a Troop of Horse, and having met them, bad them stand; that done, willed them to prepare for death, for dye they muit : the Hollanders replyed, they hoped not so, for all their money was at their dispose. We feek not your money, said the two Captains, but your lives. and will now be revenged, for those barbarous torments three of this your company put our Countrey men and allies to at Amboina; and had we leifure, we would ferve you so too. First, they hung up Fohnson the chief of the Amboinists, and made the other feventeen cast the dice which of them should escape to carry intelligence into Holland. The fifteen guiltlesse persons thought this hard measure, and hoped they would not punish them for others faults: but the Gentlemen pleaded, legem talionis, and that they might as well hang them, as their Countrey-men were butchered at Amboyna without cause. So without further endicament they hang'd up fixteen, and fent the odde man home. Some satisfaction, but, though almost two for one, not equiparate to the merit of that nations cruelty: these seventeen had a mercifull and quick dispatch; our ten at Amboyna, the ingenious Devils did so exquisitely torture, as the poor Patients had nothing but clear consciences, to make them believe they felt not hell above ground.

An. Christi 1630.

In March Mr. Mountagne was sent over to negotiate the payment of the moiety of the Queens Portion (being Four hundred thousand Crowns) behinde, and to require satisfaction for two rich Ships taken from us by the French, since the last peace concluded; and with him, as the better Accountant, was sent the great Merchant Philip Burlamachi. The King of France returned this answer, Let my Brother of England render up the Fort of Kebeck. and then he shall have satisfaction to his content. Kebeck is a Fort upon the river of Ganada in the North part of America, and was taken by Captain Kirk two yeares before, and garrisoned with English under the Command of his Brother; it is the prime staple for Beavers and otters in the whole world, & worth usually at least thirty thoufand pound a year. But our King preferr'd fair amity, before litigious

About 18. years fince the Earl of Effex was seperated (by a most just sentence of Nullity executed by Commission under the great Seal of England) from the Lady Frances Howard. True it is, that Countesse was of a very lewd report, and full of fire, as the Earl of ice, nor will I undertake to vindicate from indirect and unjustifiable practifes, the scrutiny of her Virginity. But judgement must proceed according to the tenor of allegations and proofs, and as the Jury of Midwifes declared her to be an untouched Virgin, fo did the Earl himselse confesse that (though he had often attempted it) he never could, and believed never should carnally know her. Whereupon the Commissioners pronounced a Divorce between them. Upon this definitive sentence of the Bishops, a late compiler of Great Britains History, abetting popular error, hath cast some odious glances, not knowing that Geneva her selfe had done the like before in the case of the Marquelle of Vico and others. But that Author was this Earles creature, and pleading his Masters cause, assumed the greater liberty. The Earl and his Countesse thus parted, to shun the shame of impotency at home, over he goes to the Low Countries, disciplines himselse there in Martial exercises, behaves himselfe both there, and in the Palatinate with gallant resolution, and became of high renown for feats of Arms. Having given these undenyable proofs of his manhood, he was ambitious to give some of his virility, and having been a while in England, solicited the affection of Mris. Eli-Zabeth Paulet, (daughter of Sir William Paulet of Wiltshire, and extracted from the Noble line of the Marquelle of Winche-(fer) obtained it, and on March the 11. of this present year, consummated Nuptials with her at Netly, the Earl of Hartfords house. With this Lady he did a while cohabit, and it was but a while, becoming foon unhappy in his fecond, as in his first choice; for he could as little digest her over-much familiarity with Mr. Udal, as his former Ladies with the Earl of Somerfes. But happy it had

emolument, and yeelding up the Fort, had his full and just demands.

been (in all probabity) not lesse for King Charles then this Earl, had either his Ladies found fewer, or he more friends at Court, and that his dishonour had been there resented agreeable to his extraction: for though (as some suppose) he laboured of an immedicable and invincible impotency as to conjugal concernments, yet to others he had animosity enough, and when we shall afterward behold him in the head of a numerous Army, giving this King battail in a pitcht field, it may well be conjectured, that this then engagement was in part upon the score of these indignities, which he charg'd upon former account, so moving is the shew of injur'd honor.

I am now entred upon the yeare 1631. remarkable for the triall The Lord of emervin Lord Andley, Earle of Castle haven, wish I could for the honour of Christianity, for the honour of Nobility, for the honor of our Nation, yea for the honor of our Nature, even manhood it felfe, that the story of so much filth might be swept into the channel of Oblivion. But offences fo prodigiously high, as his, we may not stride over; contract they doe a penalty top vital for one Scaffold to determine. History must erect another for him, wherein he may ever suffer in what is extant of him, his posthume Fame, the souls most considerable relies on earth, in whose Proxy she is happy or miserable to all posterity.

This Earl marryed to his fecond wife, the daughter of the old Countesse of Derby, and widow of the Lord Shandos, by whom she had a daughter marryed to the Lord Audley the Earls sonne: he was committed in December last, upon an accufation of fucha cluster of abominations, as were never heard of before. First, for causing one Skipwith his Ganymede, (son to a maker of Usque-bath in Ireland) and advanced by the Earls villany, (for it were a shame to call it bounty) to an estate of near a thousand pound per annum, to ravish the Countesse, himselfe asfifting: next, for procuring the same skipwith and others to cuckold his fon, by lying with his Lady in the presence of the Earl. Lastly, for acting Sodomy both upon skipwith and others. After all these hellish deeds, some Lords expostulating with him in prison his motives to them, with an impudence sutable to his lewdnesse, he told them: As others had their severall delights, some in one thing, some in another, so his whole delight was in damning souls, by enticing men to such acts as might surely effect it: For these offences he was endicted at Salubury, and there found guilty by the Grand Enquest, whereupon he was transmitted to the Kings bench Bar.

His Arraignment there was April the 25. of this present year. Thomas Lord Coventry (being for that day constituted Lord High Steward of England; brought the Commission into the Court, where after an Oyes made by the Serjant at Arms, he gave it to Sir Thomas Farshaw Clerk of the Crown to read, who read it, and

An. Christi 1631.

raigned.

The Earl of Effex his fecond Marriage.

An. Christi 1631.

Found guilty,

An. Christi

then the huisher of the Black rod kneeling down to the Lord High Steward, presented him with a white rod, the staffe of his Office. His feat was a chair of State, and underneath him fate the Peers. in number twenty fix, via. the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Prive Seal, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Kent, Worcester, Bedford, Effex, Dorfet, Salisbury, Leicester, Warwick, Carlile, Holland, Barkshire, Denbigh , the Vicounts, Wimbleton, Conway, Dorchester, Wentworth; the Barons, Percy, Strange, Clifford, Peters, North, Goring. And beneath the Nobility fate the Judges affistants. The Commission read, and Oyes made, the Lord High Steward gave leave to the Peers to be covered, and then they were called over by their names, to which every one gave a particular answer. Then the Lievtenant of the Tower brought the Prisoner forth to the Bar, to whom the Lord High Steward declared the cause of his being brought thither. His endichment was read by Sir Thomas Fan-Than, who asked him whether he were guilty, or not guilty. The Lord Audley replyed, Not guilty. Sir Thomas then demanded, How wilt thou be try'de the Lord Audley reply'd. By God and my Peers. Then the Lord High Steward, addreffing himselfe to the Peers,

The Prisoner is endicted of Rape and Sodomy, to which he hath pleaded not guilty; My duty it is to charge you with the Triall of him, yours to judge. The cause may move in some pity, in others detestation, neither of which ought to be put in the scale, for a grain on either side may fway the Ballance. But Reason must rule your affections, and your heads, your hearts. You are to give attentive heed, and weigh equally, that the scale may incline the right way. The Judges will assist you in points of Law, whereof if doubts arise, you are to propound them to me, and I to them: Thus your Lordships are to proceed without Corporall Oath, for the Law supposeth you of such integrity, as you will doe that for fustice, that others are compelled to by their Oaths. And so God direEt you in it.

After the Lord High Steward had ended, the Atturney General spake vehemently in aggravation of the crimes whereof the Prisoner was impeacht; then the witnesses were produced, and the Evidence upon Examination was found summarily this;

That the first or second night after marriage, the Lord and Lady being in bed togerher, he told her, That her body now was his, and that if she lay with any by bis consent, the fault would be

his, not hers. That Broadway by his command forcibly lay with her, whilest the Lord affisteth him in holding her. This was proved by the testimony of the Lady her selfe the Defendant, and Breadway the affailant. The Sodomy was proved by Broadway and Fits Patrick on whom it was acted. These were the main and capital offences; of leffe hainous nature in the eye of the Law. was his oft perswading Skipwith to act villany with the young Lady, whom he kept fo short of maintenance, as she had no means but what Skipwith gave her, and that during Skipwiths lewdnesse with her, he called up divers servants to behold them, he himselfe much delighting therein. This was proved by the testimony of the young Lady herselse, Skipwith, and sour or five more.

To these the Earl pleaded, that his wife had been bad before, and so no competent witnesse against him. Then the Lord High Steward asked the Judges whether one may ravish a woman of ill fame ? Who reply'd, An Whore may be ravisht, and it is felony to doe it.

Then the Lords withdrew to consider of the evidence, and being returned, the Lord High Steward demanded their several suffrages, who all, one by one pronounced him guilty of the Rape, and fifteen of Sodomy: which verdict being brought in, the Lord High Steward delivered senttence of death against him in these words:

For as much as thou Mervin Lord Audley, haft And condenbeen endicted of divers felonious crimes, for which thou didst desire to be try'd by God and thy Peers, which Tryall thou hast had, and they have found thee guilty of them: Thy Sentence is therefore, that thou returne from hence to the place from whence thou camest, and from thence to the place of Execution, and there to hang by the neck till thou be dead. And the Lord have mercy on thy foul.

This doom being past upon him, the Court arose, and the His execution. Lord was remanded to the Tower, where he continued close prisoner till May 14. being the day of his Execution, when being brought to Tower bill, he ascended the Scaffold, (waited on by his two Chaplains, Dr. Winiff Dean of Pauls, and Dr. Wickham and made a short Confession, declaring himselfe many ways worthy of death, but solemnly protesting his innocency in those two faults whereof he stood condemned. His confession ended, he reforted to his prayers, after which bidding farewell to all the Spectators, and forgiving the Executioner, he yeilded his head to de-cuffation, to the striking off, which was performed dextrously, and at one blow.

122

An. Christi 1631. 

One thing I offer as observable, and from my selse-beholding. that having preserved his countenance all the while before, in one constant tenor, he no sooner did addresse himselfe for the stroke of death, but his hands and face were in a moment over shadowed with such a swarthy metamorphosis, as neer resembled smoakdryed Bacon. The like befell (as I was credibly informed) to one of noble eminency, whom Justice pursued to the like end, for a different offence, during these Civill Warres, as shall (God willing) take place in the sequel of this Narration.

Thus dyed this citular piece of Nobility, like a bad Actor

hist off the stage, of few lamented, for of few beloved.

A remarque upon his offence.

Now we have done with the Malefactor, we will next arraign the Fact it selfe. I mean that transcendent one the Rape; it being of fo horrid and hideous a quality. For whereas all other fins are the dictates of sensual pleasure or profit, and have their seminalities within the bed of natural corruption, this was a fin which even depraved nature would not own, as having no incentives to it, a fin whereunto the Devill himself seemed not accesfary, a fin without temptation, a Rape without concupifcence, an abomination whose every grison and step should we climbe, we shall not be able in the whole Repertory of Fame to finde its parallel. Some have made rude sallies upon female chastity, but it hath been to sate and allay the boiling extimulations of their own, rarely of others lufts. Possibly some, with whom to serve hath been to subsist, have been adjutants to their Masters in actions of like detestation, but who ever heard the practise counterchanged, or a Master voluntarily to officiate to his servant in a deed so execrable: Had it been acted upon a stranger it had been bad sufficiently, upon an acquaintance much worse, upon an ally storse will, (as supperinducting Incest with Rape) but to perpetrate it upon her, whom the facred ties of Wedlock had configned up to him in the highest notion of dearnesse, for a man to commit a Rape upon himselfe, (for so she was in truth) certainly there never was a fin of so odde and impartial a genius. Nor did the person on whom it was acted render the impiety more odious, then the mode and way of doing it : for whereas nature it selfe, in acts of such uncleannesse, (even between married couples who have the highest dispensation) declineth infolation and open view, this Bestiality was acted as upon a common Theater, as if all the delight had been in the Spectacle, and all the pleasure in the Ostentation. So that in short (all circumstances spell'd together) I may safely say it is a sin without Precedent of former ages, and which I hope posterity will never copy out.

Broalway and Fir Pairich arraigned.

Fune the 27 following, Mr. Broadway and Fitz Patrick, fervants to, and concriminaries with the Lord Audley, were produced to trial at the Kings bench Barre, and partly upon the evidence

formerly given in by the Countesse, and re avowed then by her, An. Christi and partly upon their own confessions, were found guilty, the one of Rape, the other of Sodomy, and had sentence of death pronounced against them, and were executed at Tiburn Fuly 6.

1631. 

Fit? Patrick in his last speech at the Gallowes, reslected inve-Gively upon the Earl of Dorfet as the beguiler of him into his destruction: because, upon his examination before the Lords, the Earle promised in the name of the whole board, that whatsover he gave in evidence against his Lord, should no waies prejudice himself, which moved him to declare his Lord guilty of Sodomy, and that the testimony he then gave against his Lord, was now the maine cause of his own condemnation. As to the matter of fact for which the Lord suffered, he much lamented his Lord should dye in protestation of his innocence, for he professed the Lord was guilty of both those crimes for which he dyed. Much time he spent in addresses to the Virgin Mary and the Saints, and ended his life in the Romish perswasson.

Mr. Broadwaies confession was very ingenuous, Christian, and fincere; much blame he laid upon the Countesse as a woman of infamous conversation, and much upon himself for his dissolutenesse, for which in the most fignificant gestures of contrition he craved pardon from God, and dyed in much affurance of it.

In the same moneth of May wherein this Monster-Lord was Sic Giles Al. fentenced, Sir Giles Allington fell also under censure for a fin of lington censugrand, though under graduate abomination. This Knight (in High Comother things a Gentleman of much honour) had against the advice million, of the Arch-bishop and other venerable Divines, marryed his half Neece, the daughter of Mr. Dalton, for which incessuous match he was questioned in the High Commission, with whom he tuge'd hard, and being a man of great estate, resolved he was to spate no cost which might be serviceable to quit him. First, his Advocates pleaded it was not within the Levitical interdict, where the marriage of the Nephew with the Aunt is forbidden, but not of the Unkle with the Neece; and when the same parity of reason was urged, Bellarmines No was produced, because, faith he, The first everteth the natural subjection due from a Nephew to his Aunt, who must be his underling by the duty of a wife : whereas if a Neece doth marry her Uncle, the natural subjection is rather doubled, then destroyed. But these arguments were rather delatory pastimes, then just evasions. Sir Giles his best refuge was to the Common Pleas, from whence he obtained two Rules; one, requiring the High Commissioners to shew cause why a Prohibition should not be granted. The other intimating, that if in the interim they proceed further, a Prohibition should be granted : which fo incenfed the High Commissioners, as they fent instantly to acquaint the King therewith, who gave present order to

125

1631.

An. Christi the Lord Keeper to let the Judges know he did much distaste such proceedings, whereupon the Common Pleas desisted from further interruption; and it was well they did, for the Bishop of Londongrew so high in passion, as he said he would move the Lord of Canterbury to excommunicate all the Judges within his Province who should dare to act in such a Prohibition, and in case the Archbishop would not, he was resolved to doe it in his Diocese, and denounce it himself in St. Pauls and other Churches.

Sir Giles thus stript of all Common Law protection, became the full But to receive the keen arrowes of a provoked Court, eight Bishops, and four other Commissioners were his Judges; and his sentence, Fine to the King Twelve thousand pounds, to stand obliged in the penalty of Twenty thousand pounds never to co-habit or to come into private company with his Neece any more: to be committed to prison, or put in sufficient bail till both he and his Neece or Lady shall have done penance at Pauls Crosse, and at Great Saint Maries in Cambridge at a day enjoyned by the Court. Never was Delinquent censured there by a more solemne and venerable Confistory. Many spake excellent well; but Sir Henry Martin, whose custome it was before to out goe others, did then surpasse himself.

The Court afforded little remarkable this year, save only that the Queen Nov. the 4. was delivered of her eldest Daughter, the

Lady Mary. The Kings thoughts were most abroad; and imployment those thoughts could not want, whilest his brother the Palizgrave wanted his patrimony; and though he was almost at the point of desperation, as to prevailing with the Emperour by precarious applications, yet did he resolve once more to re-inforce his former instances: to which effect he dispatcht Sir Robert Anstruther again as Ambassadour to him. But the Empereur being not high enough to deny, nor low enough to grant, kept his old posture of procrastination: whereof our King having advice from his Ambassadour, intending patiently to wait untill new emergences should occasion new counsels, gave him order will to attend and pursue his former instructions, untill he should receive others.

In the mean time Gustavus King of Sweden, in the way of whose conquest nothing could stand, with a victorious sword made a furious inrode into Germany; the restauration of whose liberties he made the design of that hostile incursion. And as the Prince Elector bare the greatest share in the oppression, so had he the fairest hopes of tasting the fruit of those conquests, especially confidering both that now that King began to be mafter of the field even in the Palatinate, the late and ancient patrimony of that Prince; and also how solicitous a zealot his Brother our King was in his concernment; for as in promotion of that great

enterprise he had this summer sent over an aid of Six thousand Foot with Three hundred thousand Dollars to the King of Sweden under the conduct of the Marquesse Hamilton, so did he also in the spring of the next year dispatch an Ambassador to him, praying the Restauration of the Paliz grave. But the King of Sweden, (whether because he had prospered to a selfsubsistence, and so needed no participants either in the hazard, or glory of the atchievement; or upon what other account, uncertain) neither entertained, nor imployed the Scots with that respect as was expected, most of them never encountring any enemy but those two fierce ones, Plague and Famine. Again, he set at first so high a rate upon what was fued for, as rendred it not worth acceptance upon such harsh tearms: For he demanded from the Prince,

First. That he should enter Recognizance, of holding his Countrey as a Donative of that King, and consequently should repute himself as bis Beneficiary and Vallall.

Secondly, That he should make no Martial Levies without his liking.

Thirdly, That he should, during those Wars, furnish him with so many thousands upon his own pay: more indeed then his desolate countrey could maintain.

Fourthly. That two of his Head Towns should be left to the King as Cautionaries for performing of Covenants, which should be made presidiary and Garisons to be maintained by the contribution of the Coun-

Fiftly, That he should make no League nor Article with any other Prince his consent not first bad.

These proposals were lookt upon by the Prince, rather as conditions tendred by a Conqueror to a vanquisht Foe, then acts of Grace to a distressed friend; nor did they answer that ambitious title of the LIBERATOR and DELIVERER of GER-MANY, to which that King pretended, with fo intense a pasfion.

The Paliz-grave therefore loth to change his Lord only, and retain his old servitude, rejected these tearms as dishonorable, which being also resented as such by the Agents of France, and the unised Provinces, and so represented to the King, he condiscended to others of a more lenitive temper. But Heaven was no party to those transactions, for when all things were even upon the Smeden flain at point of figning, the supreme Disposer of all things signed a fa. Luizen. tal countermand, giving a sudden stop to that brave Heroe in the full carreer of all his triumphs, by a death naturall to him as a Souldier, though violent as a Man: This disaster happened at that memorable battel, at LutZen, Novemb. 6. where the King being too adventurously engaged in the thickest of his Troops, was slain by an hand, yea by a party, (whether his own or the enemies) uncertain.

An. Christi 1632.

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The Reign of King Charles.
to him from the Crown of England, upon the contract made 1625.

towards the support of his Army, so that the Earl finding the

intrado of his Negotiation like to come to nothing, having con-

doled, that is, after the Vandish mode, made merry with that King,

127

An. Christi 1632.

Discontents in Ir cland.

An. Christi

1632.

his adversaries, for no sooner did the noyse of the fall overspread his Army, but they redoubled their Martial sury, and consequently their blows, hewing down their stiffe opponents with so gallant courage, as they went off Victors leaving dead on the place six

Eo clarior quod adolescens in incremento rerum undum atteram forturam expertua decessis, Liv. 8.c.77.

The Prince Elector dyeth thousand men.
This was the end of that renowned King, for sprightly metal the Casar, for successe the Alexander of this Age, to whom we may apply what the Historian said of that Macedonian Prince. He was the more famous, because he was cut off in his youth, and in the growth of his prosperity, before fortune had ever for saken him,

or shewed him her averse.

Gustavus being thus taken away, the Prince Elector his Participant in his best Fortune would needs also be concomitant in his worst, and was at the same time I may say (not improperly) slain, he receiving his deaths wound thence, though not there. He had some few days before taken the infection at Ment?, being newly returned from visiting his Ally the Duke of Deux-Ponts; and was in an hopefull way of recovery, when news was brought him of the King of Swedens death, which he re-sented with so intense a passion, as he dyed the 29. of the same moneth. Nor could the restitution of Franckendal (the fairest flower of his Garland) bear up his Spirit from desponding and overwhelming with grief. For that Town having been so long, and so close beging by the Swedes, as it was reduced to a necessity of yeelding. And the Emperor and the King of Spain (aiming to convert that necessity into a favour, and to pick a thank from England, whose Ambassadors still ply'd his instances at the Imperial Court) rendred it up into the hands of the English Officers, the 21. of that instant, being eight dayes before the Prince expired, so that he lived to know himselfe in part restored, though sorrow had so imbittered all relish of earthly joy, as his spirit was not susceptible of any other then dolefull impressions.

The Earl of Lessifier Ambilladour into Denna k. The same year our King also dispatcht the Earl of Leicester to the King of Denmark his Unkle; the most considerable design of his Embassie was to condole the late decease of his Grandmother the Lady Sophia Queen Dowager of Denmark, and to demand the dividend of a sixt part of what she lest as due to him, and the Lady Elizabeth in right of Queen Anne their Mother; for by the Fundamental Law of that Kingdome, all children, of whatsoever sex, inherit equal shares, allotting only to the eldest a double portion. The part due to our King and his Sister amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which that King promised to satisfie assoon as moneyes came in, but withall intimated that he desired to re-minde his Nephew of England, of what he was in arrear of the thirty thousand pounds per measure, which was due

returned home. This year the Protestants and Danish Plantators in Ireland. began to grow into some discontent : The Papists, especially the Romish Clergie, encreased excessively, to neer double the number of Reformed Beleevers, and because so insolent as openly to ere & an University in Dublin, in emulation, or rather in defiance of the Kings Colledge there: so that they had reason to fear sad effects of their potency. Again, the King finding the Romish Catholiques in that Kingdome so numerous, so ignorant, and withall so poor, he thought fit for a while to dispense with the penalty of the statute of twelve pence per Sunday for absence from the Church, especially being somewhat irritated by what was suggested to him (though untruly) that writs were iffued out for levying those fines, before the quarterly contribution of five thousand pounds granted by the Countrey for maintenance of the Army was expired, which (had it been so) might have proved of dangerous consequence. This act of Grace as it elevated the pride of the Reculants, so it found amongst the Protestants a most unpleasing resentment: which was not a little ampliated by their great oppression, by an odious Papist Under-sheriff, his unequall levying the last Contribution. These distempers made for, and in a manner made the Lord Vicount Wentworth; for whereas the Politique administration of that Kingdome was then entrusted to many, under the notion of Lords Justices with their Councell, the King was perswaded that those humours would better fettle and repose under a single Governour; and if so, no man more proper, none of more dexterous prudence, none of more affured fidelity then that Lord : of whom his Majesty had full experience in his Presidence of the North, which he discharged with so great wisdome, such faire integrity, as argued him worthy of the highest promotion: so that the King agreeable to the value he had for him, not more favouring, then righting him, invested him with the sole power of that Kingdome (in subordination to him felf alone) under the title of Lord Deputy.

December the 2. the King fell sick of the Small-Pocks, but the malignity was very remisse, and gentle, so as, by Gods blessing, he

foon recovered.

The same month also he sent the Earl of Arundel to the Hague to his Sister, both to comfort her, and solicite her and her childrens journey into England: but she returned answer, that she craved her Brothers excuse for that time, having no disposition to so long a journey.

129

An. Christi

An. Christi 1622. on for repair. ing of Saint

Pauls.

The same year St. Pauls Churchlong decayd with age fell under charitable, (shall I call it or pious consideration. A gallanter exercise for Royal magnificence there could not be; and never King had a greater minde to the worke, then King Charles, had he been stockt for it: but poverty (that grand oppressor of vertuous spirits) kept him short. But the good word of a great Man is worth gold, and though he was unfurnished himselfe, yet he commended her condition to such as were able; issuing forth a Commission to divers Lords and Gentlemen of note, willing them to exhort their adjacent neighbours to a large contribution, whereby though the summe raised by that Benevolence lookt bigge in groffe, yet did it much fail the expectation of the Bishop, and for his sake (it was supposed) suffered no small diminution: for many had no fancy to the work, meerly because he was the promoter of it, (so ill are even the best actions relisht of men lapfed into common disdain) nor did some forbear to crv: What needs this waste to decore a superstitious relique? Neverthelesse the work went on, and her excoriated carkasse began to skin again, but with so slow a motion, as at length the distempers of the State marr'd the temper of the mortar, and made the Artists knock off abruptly, leaving that famous structure half ruin'd, half polite.

February the 11. there happened a terrible fire upon London. Bridge, which confumed very many houses, whereof the still extant

gap and chasment is a visible demonstration.

Sorely vext was Bishop Laud to see his Cathedral so tedious in trimming, especially at such a time, as he did behold under his nose, so vigorous a construction of a little City, not super-edified upon an old bottom, but upstart and new-emergent from the ground.

For the King having granted leave to the Earl of Bedford to edifie at pleasure upon the Convent Garden, it being of a very ample and spacious Area and Content, the Earl ply'd his design with such celetity and quick dispatch, as he soon rear'd such numerous rows of stately and ambitious buildings, as made old London envy the

magnificence of her Sub-urbicary fifter.

But some thought this gallant structure of greater state, then safety, and that this Kings Father upon better reason of state, restrained such erections. For Cities are the great rendezyous of People, and where there is the greatest confluence of men, there will be the greatest power. And as all power is a kinde of grievance to them who obey, so no Power is more Tyrannicall then that of a City, witnesse Athens, Sparta, and Rome. And if the excessive Grandure of Cities be intolerable in a Popular State, it is much more under a fingle Soveraignty. For there is tnothing more adverse and opposite to Regality then a Re-publique,

and as all Incorporations are in their Politique constitution elemented according to a popular Scheme, so are their Members usually principled agrreeable to such intents, and onely attend untill an opinion of their formidable numbers, or some other serviceable emergency shall invite them to daring against Regall power. A truth which may be exemplifyed in Fernsalem, whose Character is delivered in Sacred Writ, under the notion of a Rebellious City hurtfull unto Kings, and that they have moved sedition within the same of old time, Ezra.4.15. and conformable was the late deportment of this Metropolis, whole Inhabitants this King fadly found the considerable Artificers of his ruine. A caveat to posterity, (whether, or not, to His. I leave to him whose wayes are past finding out) not to permit them to grow to a luxuriancy disproportionable from the interest of subjection.

The King as you have heard before, was in the 1. year of his Reign | The Kings

on thought was worth the fetching, and so did the King also at

least seemingly, having it in such ansanniversary consideration as

every year (fince his first) the time was prefixt, and his foot al-

most in the stirrup for a Progresse thither. But some thing or

other came ever travers and thwart in the very nick of time, and

put him by, so that his often preparations for scotland, resem-

gave him the by name of Callipedes ) who was ever going, yet

never went. And the Scots themselves, none of the most candid

interpreters of this Kings actions, lookt upon it no otherwayes,

then as a meer mockery. The truth is, the King had no great

stomach to the journey. For as the place had nothing of amenity

or delight, so the Nation and race of men were not fashioned

to the mode of Englands civilities; but under the scheme of an

honest animosity, and specious plain dealing, most perfidious.

But things safe preponderate and out-weigh the pleasing, and it

grew high time now not to delay and super-annuate longer this

expaation. He had lately requested a great Person of that Na-

tion, to whom the custody of the Crown was entrusted, to

bring it into England, that he might be crowned here, and save

so false to bis trust, but if his Majesty would be pleased to accept

thereof in Scotland, he should finde those his people ready to yeeld

him the highest honour, but should he long defer that duty, they

might perhaps be inclin'd to make choice of another King. And

a while after the Marquesse Huntly, having obtained a Tolera.

tion for the exercise of the Popish Religion in Scotland, That

a tedious Journey: whereto that Lord reply'd, He durst not be -

inaugurated King of England; of England I say, not of Great progressinto Britain; wherein as Scotland challenged one moiety, so had she a Grewn to confer as well as England, and that Crown that Nati-

bled those of Tiberius for visiting Provinces remote. (which Suctionius.

Councel Routly told him, When his Majesty shall be pleased to

An. Christi come and be crowned amongst us, He will, we doubt not, be sworn to our Lawes, mean while seeing he hathentrusted us with them. we will look they shall be observed : These speeches the King took as bold hints of his necessitated Progresse, so that finding that in reason of State, goe he must, resolved he was to appeare there like himselfe, in a most Princely equipage. The suite and traine of English Nobility he took along, were the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Salisbury, Carlile. Holland, Monmouth and New Castle; the Bishop of London, Lord Treasurer, Secretary Coke, Vice Chamberlain, with many Gentlemen of quality.

May the 12. thus attended he fet forward from London. His gests and motions were much fore slowed by his making so many halts to receive the Noble treatments provided for him, by persons of Honour all along the rode; every houres repast being no lesse then a sumptuous feast. But the entertainment most of all, august and Royall was that of the Earl of New Castle at Welbeck, which was estimated to stand the Earl in at least fix thousand

pounds.

His Coronati-

Fune the 10. he came to Edenburgh, the 18. was designed for the day of his Inauguration. Great Britain never faw any thing more folemn, never a more refulgent parade, and shew of bravery then that celebrity: nor doth she afford a Gity more agreeably disposed by Nature to represent such a triumph to the best advantage of beholders, then that of Edenburgh. For it being but one entire Greet, very spacious, seated on the prone, and descending part of an hill, pro-tended in a right line from the Castle to Hely-rood-house (the Kings Palace) at least a mile in length, and the King setting forth from the Castle with his suit of Nobles, rode in a most refulgent state through the City to the Palace, (where he was to be crowned) fo as the Spectators eyes had a full pursuit of all that glorious pomp, from the first to the last.

The Scottill affected to

Thus was King Charles inaugurated King of Scotland, though not King of Scots; not all his most gracious and debonair mine towards them, could vest him in that Nations affection. His revocation (though most legall and innocent) of such things as had been depredated and scrambled away from the Crown in his Fathers minority, with a Commission of Surrenders of Superiorities and Tithes, by which the Ministers and Land-owners were bought out and redeemed from the Clientele and Vassallage of the Nobility and Laique Patrons, they could not concoct: these were the reall causes of their disaffection to him; and because that disaffection durst not look abroad under such an odious extraction, therefore they were fedulous to faine another of better acceptance. Soon after the Coronation followed an Assembly of Parliament, therein an Act of Ratification of all Acts formerly made.

The Reign of King Charles.

made, and then in force, rather for matter of form and course, then for necessity, was propounded: yet did it finde such obstruction as with much difficulty it passed : for those irritated spirits, whom nothing could content, but what afforded matter of discontent, would not affent; suggesting though in a clandestine way, that the defign of this Att was, but to maintain Episcopaci (which they thought but a great chip of the old block Popera) and what hopes of Reformation, what of planting the Gospel, what of erecting the Discipline of Jesus Christ so long as Episcopacy is established? But notwithstanding all these clancular. these close infinuations by these turbulent malevolents, the Act passed, and the King had so considerable and so many friends in that Kingdome, as they durft not then attempt any thing which might discompose the publique quiet.

Having thus dispatcht the serious part of his errand into Scotland, his Majesty gave himselfe the satisfaction of visiting Falkland, Sterling, and some other the most eminent places of pleasure, but in his return and passage from Brunt Iland over the Forth to Edenburgh, he escaped a great danger, the winde being boisterous, and the channel insecure. This done he hasted home,

and ended his progresse Fuly the 20.

No: long after his return from Scotland, aged and felfesear George Abbot the Titular Archbishop of Canterbury went to his everlasting home, August the 4. A very learned man he was, his Erudition all of the old stamp, stifly principled in the Doctrine of St. Augustine; which they who understand it not, call Calvinisme, therefore dif relisht by them who inclined to the Massillian and Arminian Tenets. Pious, grave, and exemplary in his conversation. But some think a better Man then Archbishop, and that he was better qualified with merit for the Dignity, then with a spirit answering the sundion, in the exercise whereof he was conceived too facile and yeelding; his extraordinary remishesse in not exacting strict conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of ceremony, seemed to resolve those legal determinations to their first principle of indifferency, and led in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of those tender conscienced men to long dif continued obedience was interpreted an innovation. This was the height of what I dare report his failings reacht to: That he was a Ring-leader of that Sect which lately appeared desperate proselytes, loth I am with a Partial-observer to affirm, warrant I have none to leave so ill a savour upon his fame, nor can it be infallibly inferred from these men their being then in favour with him. Their principles perhaps were entertained fince his death, or if before, not then declared, and untill such secrets be discovered, men may be mi

Ap. Christi 1633.

133 An. Christi

1633.

Gen. 28, 16,

An. Christi 1633.

staken in those they favour, the greatest sufferer of these times

Next this Archbishop succeeded William Laud Bishop of London. and was translated September 19. Higher he could not be advanced in England, in Rome he might, and Rome was so studious to adopt him hers, as supposing his ambition was not terminated so, before he was translated, she seriously made him a ridiculous tender of a Cardinalls Cap, to which he returned answer negative, untill Rome were other then it is. Implying, that the Church had errors to which he could no waies conform, and had she been as Orthodox as ever, he who was Primate here, thought it not forted with his honour to be iccord to any elsewhere.

The King having observed at his last being in Scotland that God Almighty was very negligently, and as he thought undecently worshipt there, took the Reformation of Sacred worship, into his Princely care; and because innovations must be sthough never so necessary) led in by degrees, he first began with his own Chappel at Hely-Rood House, and this October issued forth several Arricles or Orders to be there observed by the Dean of his Chappel.

First, that prayers be faid twice a day according to the English

Secondly, That a Communion be held every moneth, and all Communicants to receive the bleffed Eucharist on their

Thirdly, That on Sundaies and Holi-daies he who officiates should constantly perform bis duty in his Whites or Surplice.

But these Directions, though backt with a Letter requiring exact obedience, and though only relating to the Kings private Chappel, yet were very flowly observed, the Bishop of Dunblane then Dean of his Majesties Chappel, pleading now one thing, then another in his excuse, when in truth he knew well he should thereby displease the people; and what the consequence might be of displeating a Nation so combustible, as that and whose fury would assume the greater liberty in the absence of his Majesty, as he did easily foresee, so did he think it concerned him to pre-

In the year 1618. King Fames published a Command or Declaration tolerating sports on the Lords Day called Sunday. This Declaration then caused so many impetuous clamours against it, as it was soon after called in. And was this ottober revived and ratify'd by King Charles. The expresse design of this was to restore the Feasts of Dedication of Churches commonly called Wakes to their ancient folemnity, and to allow the use of lawful passimes in the lower row upon that day. It was also

argued in favour of it, That there was in the Kingdome a potent rendency in many to Judaisme, occasioned by the dangerous Doctrine and Positions of several Puritans, especially of one Theophilus Brabourn an obscure and ignorant Schoolmaster, afferting the perpetual and indispensable morality of the Sabbath of the fourth Commandement. Again in other no small inclination to Popery, occasion'd by the rigour and strictnesse of Sabbatarian Ministers, in denying People recreations on the Sunday. But all these plausible infinuations operated little to a welcome entertainment. Nor was there any one Royal Editt, during all King Charles his reign, resented with equal regret. The fault was least his Majesties, and not only ill Counsell, but ill custome was to blame : for the King might say of this his Day, as Facob did once of God's House. Surely the Lord was in this Day, and I knew it not. For, too true it is, the Divinity of the Lords-Day, was then new Divinity at Court, where the publique Assemblies once over, the indulgence of se. cular Imployment and of Recreations, was thought fo little difservice to God, as (time sans memorie) not only civill affairs were usually debated at the Councell Table, but also representations of Masques were rarely on other then Sabbath nights: and all this fomented by the both doctrine and practice of men. very eminent in the Church: which seemed the greater prodigy. that they who so eagerly cryed up their own Orders, and revenues for Divine, should so much de-cry the Lords-Day for being such, when they had no other Existence, then in relation to This; But of this elsewhere.

November the 6. the young Prince Elector, by the Proxic of the Earl of Dover, and the Duke of Lenox, received at Windfor the honor of Garter.

The 14. of the same moneth, the Queen was delivered of another Son, who was baptized the 24. by the name of Fames, and was after styled Duke of York.

February the 2d. (you may if you please call it Candlemas night) had been time out of minde celebrated at Court with somewhat more then ordinary folemnity: and never was any more glorious then that of this year: the four Innes of Court presenting both their Majesties at Whitehall, with a gallant Masque as a Symbole of their joynt affections. An exact account of this radiant shew, would make a bad shew in so grave a History, nor shall I need fay more, then that for curiofity of fancy, for excellency of performance, for luftre and dazling splendor, this age, though pasfionately addicted to the glory of such inventions, never before or fince within this Ile afforded the like. So brave a Spectacle it was, as it not only delighted the Court, but fet the London Dames on longing to behold fuch galety within their City wals; upon this account some ten daies after both their Majesties, with

Tε

135

1633.

1634.

An. Christi their train of Court Grandees & Gentlemen Revellers, were folemnly by Alderman Freeman then Lord Major invited to a most sumptuous banquet at his House, where that resplendent shew was iterated. and re-exhibited, so as not only this year, but this moneth may be faid to have had two Candlemas nights. This entertainment was very costly to the City, so dear was then, I say not this King, but their own vanity to them, and that their vanity was dearer to them then their King is evident, because some few years after, when they flourished, and he wanted most to represse the Scotish-darings, he could not obtain from them any the least pittance of

> The next spring his Majesty fell upon Davids design, but not upon Davids fin, of numbring the People, the ground whereof

> Forein Princes and States with whom he was in amity, were earnest suitors to him, that by his leave they might make some military levies within his Dominions. Willing he was to comply with those desires, but would first provide against his own prejudice; that he might therefore take the better notice of what was supernumerary to his own preservation, he caused a general muster to be made of all persons (under the degree of Esquires) fit to bear arms from the age of fixteen, to fixty, and after the return of the Roll he condescended to their requests.

> This fummer the King, followed the Counsel of Themisto. cles, began to apply himselfe to the mastery of the British seas, to which he had most potent provocations : for his coasts were not only infected with Pickreens, Turks, and Dunkirk Pirats to the great dammage of traffique, but his very Dominion in the narrow seas acually usurped by the Holland-Fishers, and the right it selfe in good earnest disputed, by a late Trace of learned Grotius called Mare liberum. These were craving occasions and concernments not of honour only, but of safety also. And how these could be provided for was the grand difficulty, for the charge of the enterprise would be excessive, and his Exchequer empty, how that vacuity should be filled up was a Question, and that Question King Charles his infelicity; for without all question the most natural and proper resort had been to his Subjects in Parliament, but his and their late fo unfriendly, fo unkind parting, gave him slender assurance of relief from them, and made him loth to give himselfe the trouble of their denial. And for such Subjects, to deny such a King, upon such an occasion was the thought) a deplorable case. Had he wasted and decocted his Treasure in luxury and riot, had he been profuse in bounty, to his Favourites, and had contracted want that way; had he prest upon his Peoples liberties above the mode of his progenitors, and so alienated their affections; had not his people been in state to

> > fupply:

supply him, all these had been considerable, and every one something. But never King was more frugall, never King more retentive in his largeffes, never King had made more obliging concessions to his Subjects.

An. Christi 1634.

This difinclination of the Parliament to affift the King, and his impendent necessity, had power, I will not say cause, enough to urge in another King a repetition of Privy Seales, Leans, and fuch disgustfull impositions. But to King Charles it was sufficient they were illegall, resolved he was no extremity, no not an invincible. and farall one, should provoke him to temerate, to violate those Lawes; yet if any thing did happily escape (as he hoped there did) the curiofity of the late restraint upon him by the Petition of Right. or was left arthe dispose of his Prerogative, he doubted not but he might without scruple of conscience to himselfe, or offence to the publique, take benefit thereof. Therefore for a cunning man (the cunning'st at such a Project, of any within his three Dominions) he sends, that is, for his Atturney generall Noy, tells him what he had in contemplation, bids him contrive the mode (but a legall one) for defraving the expence. Away goes the subtill engineer, and at length from old records progs and bolts out an ancient Precedent of raising a Tax, for setting forth a Navy in case of danger. The King glad of the discovery, as of Treasure trouve, presently issued out Writs, first to the Port Townes within the Realme, declaring that the safety of the Kingdome was in danger (and so it was indeed) and that therefore they should provide against a day prefixt, twenty seven Ships of so many Tun, with Guns, Gunpowder, Tackle and all, other things necessary. This fell heavy upon those Towns, and made them groan aloud, complaining, that if the lafety of the whole Kingdome were concerned therein, reason good that the uplanders should pay also for their benefit, whereupon it was thought fit foon after to impose the Tax upon all the Counties of England, encreasing the number to forty seven. But these Ships were scarce fitted to float upon the Main, before they were dry foundred at Land: for it being a burthen, every man began to thun the weight. The Clergy pleaded they were priviledged persons, and not liable to civill charges, but the Judges argued against them, that there is Trinoda necessitas, a three-fold necessity, which bindes as well Clergy as Laiety, viz. Aide in Warre (luch as this) the building of Bridges, and making of Forts. Whercupon though the Arch-Bishop opposed it strongly, they were made contributers to the Tax. And the Laiety objected, that it being charged out of Parliament, it was contrary to the Petition of Right. The severall processes and motions of this difference, and how at length it reposed, are not now in season, but will more tempestively occurre, in the ensuing series of this Narration. For

Next to the birth of the Project, succeedeth the death of the

137

1634.

An. Christi 1634.

Projector. That Attorny Generall ending this life August the ninth. His decease following his invention of Ship money so close at the heels, seemed to the people as an overture of some benignity from Heaven, and almost perswaded them that God was interested in what they accounted their oppression. He was a man passing humorous. of a Cynicall rufticity, a most indefatigable plodder, and searcher of antient Records, whereby he became an eminent instrument both of good and ill (and of which most is a great question) to the Kings prerogative. For during the time that Parliaments were frequent. he appeared a stout Patriot of the Comminalty, and in the last was an active opponent in the difference concerning Tonnage and Poundage. But when the diffolution of that was, in most mens apprehensions, the end of all; No sooner did the King shew him the lure of advancement, but quitting all his former inclinations, he wheel'd about to the Preregative, and made amends with his future service, for all his former dis-obligations.

About the same time Axel Oxenstiern, the grand Chancellor; and generall Director of the Swedish affaires, sent over his Son (a Gentleman of fingular Gallantry and accomplishments) in the quality of an Ambassadour to our King, who treated him very nobly, suitable to his both merit and extraction; but in regard he came without credentiall Letters from the Queen of Sweden, and the King was ignorant of the latitude and extent of his Fathers power, as to con-Stituting Ambassadours, he denyed him Audience, whereupon he

returned in some disgust.

This year there was a Parliament called in Ireland at the motion of the Lord Deputy, founded upon very confiderable reasons. In the time of Edward the third, that Kingdome did yeeld to the Crown ultra reprisas, all charges born, thirty thousand pounds per annum. But now his Majesties Revenue fell short of defraying the yearly charge twenty thousand pound per annum, which was supplyed by way of Contribution from the Subject, and the Crown had contracted a debt of eighty thousand pounds. This Contribution was to determine the next yeare, and renewed it could not legally be. but by Parliament, and if that Parliament would but grant three Subfidies, they would advance enough to maintain the Army, and providently ordered to discharge his Majesties debt; and that the Parliament should be inclined thereto, the King had many reasons to hope. First, they had granted but one Subsidy since the begining of King Fames his reign. Secondly, the Kingdome was now grown rich, peace begetting plenty. Lastly, his Majesty had lately obliged them by setling all Estates where there had been twenty yeares continued possession; nor did his expectation mis-carry, the Lord Deputy proceeding with that prudence, that he obtained

To tell you that at that very time, there was also a Synod held,

is no news, Synods and Parliaments being most usually affociates An. Christi the one of the other; nor is it newes to tell you, That during that Synod, the Articles framed in the Convocation, Anno 1615. were repealed, and the 39 Articles of England substituted in their stead; for this hath paffed up and down for a truth so currant, and with so much confidence as very many (my selfe for one) of different inclinations and perswasions have given it reception; and yet in truth there is no such thing, for those Articles were never abrogated. Nay nor (which is more) opposition considerable against them, all the pretext I can discover for this mistake, is onely this, that there was a Canon then agreed upon, wherein that Church declared her consent with the Church of England, for the satisfaction and undeceiving all fuch as have been otherwise informed, I shall here present you with the Canon it selfe, the Title whereof is,

Of the agreement of the Church of England and Ireland. in the Profession of the same Christian Faith.

Cor the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England, in the confession of the same Christian Faith, and Doctrine of the Sacraments. We doe receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Arch Bishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy, in the whole Convocation holden at London, Anno Dom. 1562. for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true Religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirme, that any of those Articles are in any part Superstitious, or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience subscribe unto. Let bimbe Excommunicated, and not absolved, before be make a publick revocation of his error.

This information the most Reverend, and not lesse Learned Lord Primate of Armagh, did me the honour to communicate to me.

I must not leave Ireland before I have vindicated the innocence of the Lord Deputy from an accusation, or rather a calumny of Mr. Pryn, who extracts from Sir Thomas Duttons Letter, a relation of a great mutiny of Papists in Dublin, which he fixeth upon this year, and delivereth it as the effect of the Lord Deputy his connivance, and fomenting that faction: in both which, the man is grofly mistaken, for that mutiny he mentioneth, anteceded this Lords Deputation two years, as this Narrative hath placed it. And for the Popish Recusants, certaine it is, they never were kept within stricter duty, nor held closer to loyall obedience, then during the time he governed them, either because they durst not irritate so austere a Magistrate, or that their invective factions, both there and in England, found them other imployment.

An. Christi 1634. Pargani bis negotiation.

For notwithstanding the Recesse of Richard Smith, the pretended Bishop of Calciden, formerly mentioned in the difference betwixt the Secular and Regular Priests, was heightned to that animosity, as the Pope himselfe was found to rouze and declare himselfe concerned in so great a scandall to the unity of the Romish Church, and because he could not proceed to cure this Schisme, untill he rightly understood the originall ground thereof; over he dispatcheth hither Gregory Pan Zani, a Civilian and Romish Priest, with a Commission of Over and Terminer, leaving and determining the quarrell, if not to certifie to him the state of the cause, and where the fault lav. This was the upper mantle of the Plot, which had reality in it enough to overspread more secret designes, so as they were not transparent to vulgar eyes. But though his instruction would not own any other lading, yet certain it is, (as shall by and by appear) they had taken in other contrivances of pernicious import to this both Church and State.

December the 25 of this present year, Panzani arrives at London, and no fooner arrived, he bends and buckles with double diligence to his work, he first serves himselfe with oyly infinuations into some favour with Secretary Windebanke, and the Lord Cottington, persons of eminent esteem at Court, by his sly instruments he dives into the thoughts of the Court Divines, to discover whether or not the King would permit the residing of a Catholick Bishop of the English Nation. to be nominated by his Majesty, and not to exercise his function, but as his Majesty should limit. This proposition upon mature advice, begat a like quere to PanZani. Whether the Pope would allow of such a Bishop to be designed, as did hold the Oath of Allegiance to be lawfull, or at at least would tolerate the taking of it by the Catholicks. For that Oath being folemnly enacted by Parliament, the King could not change it but by a way supernaturall to the constitution of this Kingdome. PanZani finding himselse dangerously entangled with this question, very fairly gives them the slip, by pleading his no-Commission to declare it. And being thus non-suited in his first enterprize, resolved he was to play at small games rather then to fit out by his Court correspondents, he moves the King, and by himselse the Queen, for the permission of a Nuntio or Agent from the Pope, to be addressed to the Queen, for the concernments of her Religion. The King advising with his Councel condescended to it with this caution, that the person sent should be no Priest. The transacting of these particulars spent him about a year and halfe, during which time, with a zeale no leffe, he pursued his private instructions. He exceedingly solicited the compliance of severall of the Court-Clergy, to whom he past profuse promises of Ecclesiasticall promotions of the noblest dignity. He ceased not cunningly to spy into the passions, inclinations, dependances of all the Kings most secree Councell; how to treat, how to win, how to render them *ferviceable* 

ferviceable for the Romill interest, and lest it should be thought he negleded the main, in the close of all he procured an indifferent faire agreement between the Seculars and Regulars. This done, Anno 1636. home he flyes, him, leaving Seignior George Con, the Popes Agent to act the rest, of whom more hereafter.

The Scots be-

The Scouish discontents I mentioned in the last Annal, which the King left behinde him, boyling upon a foft and gentle fire, began now to contract a little more confidence in his absence, and to grink the tempt his patience by a most malitious plot against his fame, as preambulatory to another against his Person. The peoples mindes. were not yet made susceptible enough of, not sufficiently infected with their mischievous impressions; and because the first work and operation in the method of sedition, is to leaven that masse, first they whispered and instill'd into them close intelligence of some terrible plot against their liberties; then they fent abroad a venemous Libel, wherein they endeavoured to infame the Kings proceedings in the last Parliament, as indired, to charge him with the suborning of, and corrupting the then suffrages, and suggested formidable fictions of his tendency to the Romish belief.

This virulent paper passing through many hands, fell at length into some of disaffected inclinations, who presently as duty dictated, informed the Lords of the Privy Conneel thereof, upon which enfued a strice and narrow search into the authors and abetters thereof; the contriver was discovered to be one Hagge then escaped, and the chiefe of the Abetters was the Lord Balmerine.

This Lords Father was a creature of King Fames, and by him The Lord advanced to be his chiefe Secretary of State; a feeming Protesiant, but infide Romanist. Being a Minister of so neer admission to the King, he had been often tampering with him to fend a letter of compliment (contrived by himselfe) to Pope Clement, which the King as oft refused, not without indignation at the motion. Whereupon Balmerine taking advantage of the Kings hafte, when he was going a hunting, he being to fign feverall other dispatches, he cunningly shuffled in that Letter amongst the rest, so as the King signed it unawares. Some yeares after Cardinall Bellarmine mentioning Matth. Tort ed that Letter to the Kings dif advantage, and the King taking no- Apolog. Anglie. rice thereof, questioned his Secretary for it, who upon his triall Responses. confessed the whole truth, for which he was by his Peers found guilty, and suitable to his merit, adjudged to be hang'd, drawn and quartered, and his estate confiscated to the Crown. But that King was mild beyond measure, some thought beyond policy, and all this notwithstanding would not spill his blood, which was a clemency most transcendant, had his mercy ended there; but that pardon which was too much mercy for so high an offender, was, he thought, too little for so great a King, therefore in track

An. Christi

of time he shined upon him with such grace, as restored him both in blood and estate. This Lord being heir ex asse (even to his very perfidiousaesse) of what was his Fathers, thus lapsed into a similary crime, underwent similary proceedings of triall and arraignment, was also by his Peers found guilty, and sentence of Death ready to be pronounced against him. True it is, the verdict of his Peers past amongst those who wished well both to him and that Libell, as over-severe. But the Lord finding himselfe convicted as a malefactor, and by consequence his life at the dispose of his Majesty, had the wit his Father taught him, to resort to the Kings mercy, which (that the parallel might still proceed) was as graciourly dispensed to him. This Princely favour the Lord received (as well it merited) in the lowest posture of a suppliant on his knees. with highest recognisance of his Mejesties goodnesse, and deepest vowes of future loyalty that an obligation so high could deserve. But long he held not to the conscience of those protestations, so ingratefully relapfing some few yeares after, as if he had only craved leave to offend againe.

During these proceedings against this Lord, the Earl of Kenoul Lord Chancellor of that Kingdome dyed, next whom succeeded

the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

Sir Edward Goke dyeth.

In England fell two great Favorites of different parties, of the Comminalties one, of the Kings another: of the Comminalties, Sir Edward Coke, who dyed about the latter end of this Summer. Full of dayes he dyed, most whereof he had spent in eminent place and honour. His abilities in the Common Law, whereof he passed for the great Oracle, raising him to the dignity first of Attorney Generall to Queen Elizabeth, then of Lord Chief Fustice of the Kings Bench under King Fames. His advancement he lost the same way he got it, by his tongue. So rare is it for a man very eloquent, not to be over-loquent. Long lived he in that retirement to which Court indignation had remitted him, yet was not his re-cesse in-glorious; for at improving a disgrace to the best advantage, he was so excellent, as King Fames said of him. he was like a Cat, throw her which way you will, she will light upon her feet. And finding a Cloud at the Court, he made fure of fair weather in the Countrey; applying himselfe so devoutly to popular interest, as in succeeding Parliaments, the Prerogative felt him, as her ablest, so her most active opponent. Upon which account he was I Caroli, made High Sheriffe of Buckinghamshire, on purpose to exclude him the ensuing Parliament, there being an especiall Nolumus and clause in his Commission prohibiting his Election, notwithstanding which, elected he was in Norfolke, and those words of Restraint upon debate of the Question in the House of Commons voted void,

On the Kings, the Great Lord Treasurer, Sir Richard Weston An. Christ Earl of Portland, this year and he almost expiring together, he ending this life March the thirteenth. A fad losse to the King, and the Weften Lord sadder, because he thought it irreparable. The truth is, he was a Treasurer dyperson very able for the office, and the Exchequer was in the mending hand, while he enjoyed that place, for he had a fingular artifice both in improving the incomes, and in a frugall moderation of his Masters expences: But the Kings forrow was not so extreme for him, but the peoples joy was full as great. For there was now grown fo fad an antipathy between his Majestie and his Subjects, that like those two Emperors Antenine and Gets, they Xibbiline were alwayes of contrary fenses and mindes, rarely agreeing in any one particular. The deportment whereby he fo difobliged the Comminalty was his promoting Monopolies, and other advantages of Regality. The Archbishop and he were usually at great odds, yet which is a rarity both in high favovr with the King. His vacant place was for the present entrusted to Commissioners, untill the King should otherwise dispose thereof.

The Archbishop was now grown as great as power could make him, and active in the exercise of that power beyond the practice of his Predecessor, whereby he set many tongues about his ears: Men beginning now to rant it in their petulancy to Libel and reproach him, and more then men, women also, amongst these the Lady Purbeck meditating a piece of petty revenge for his so severe censure of her in the high Commission, vented words of deep disgrace against him, for which by the Archbishops procurement she was

committed, March the 24. The Parenthelis of the Kings private losse in the Lord Treasurer, did not create in him a neglect of his publick charge, but he had still his thoughts fixt upon the general affairs, especially upon his Naval preparation, which now began to promise faire toward the design. For besides a squadron of twenty Ships then sitting for the conduct of the Earl of Effex, he had compleated a fleet of forty more gallantly appointed, which dif ancred May the 4. and were commanded by the Earl of Lindley as Admiral. But all the service they performed this Summer was inconfiderable, in regard they never came to engagement, only their formidable appearance secured the Seas from those petty-larcenies and piracies, wherewith they were formerly so molested.

September the 29. the Earl of Arundel brought up to London out of Shrepshire, one Robert Parr as the wonder of our times aged man. for long life, he having attained to the age of neer 160. and probably might have continued longer, had not so tedious a journey and over-violent agitation of his aged body accelerated his end, fo that it may be faid, he facrificed some years to others curiosity.

In

An. Christi The Prince

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ved.

In November: Charles Prince Elector came over into England, to tender dues of honour and respect to his Uncle our King, and partly to folicite towards his restauration. His passage was very turbulent, being after his imbarque, twice driven back by tempest, and when at last he came upon the English Coast, and was to be received by Sir Folin Pennington into the Vant-guard, which welcomed him with a voice of great flot, it fortuned an unhappy boy gave fire without order to a peece of Ordnance, whose ball entred the Ship where his Highneffe was abord, and killed two men not farre diffant from him, at which he was much affrighted. His reception at Court was with all possible ceremonies and careffes of compliment, to whom the Prince of Wales refigned up his lodging at White hall.

December the 28. the Queen was delivered of another Daughter. who was Christened Elizabeth, Fanuary the 2.

Soon after arrived at London Prince Rupertus, second brother to

his Electorall Highnesse, the Prince Palatine.

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And at the heels of him followed an Ambassador from Holland, fent to congratulate with their Majesties, the happy birth of their fecond Daughter; and because compliments are valued according to the cost is in them, they perfumed this respect with presenting to them a massive piece of Amber Gris, two huge Basons of Chinaearth, a noble clock, the manufacture, the workmanship of Rodolphus the Emperor, and four rare Tables of Painture.

Affaires of the Treasury being managed by Commissioners, many hor disputes were generated amongst them, especially between the Archbishop and the Lord Cossington; so as the Kings discretion was called in to part the fray, by committing the staffe of that office into the hands of William Fuxon Lord Bishop of London, March 6. who was none of the worst Bishops. His moderate and equall temper in Church affaires gained love, so in those of the State he preferved it by the same constant calmnesse, and withall exhibited therein clear demonstration of his intemerate integrity, qualities meritorious of good efteem.

He who defires to pourtray England, without fore-shortning and in her full stature of Externall Glory, let him now take her demensions, he shall behold her Church shining in transcendent empyreal brightnesse, and purity of Evangelicall Truths. Her Religious performances, her holy Offices, ordered and regulated agreeable to the ftrid expedient of such sacred actions. Her Discipline, Modell, suitable to the Apostolique forme. The set and suit of her holy Tribe, renowned for Piety and Learning, and all those in so supereminent a degree, that no Church on this side of the Apostolique, can, or ever could, compare with her in any one: He shall behold the Civill State governed by a King, who (in reputation) never had his Parallel amongst all the Princes of the world, for vertnes Divine

and Moral, none of the least beatitudes of a Common-wealth; Princes examples having a stronger influence upon their Subjects Manners, then their Lawes, He shall behold a Court most radiant in all the concernments of bravery: All Arts and Sciences highly honoured, and consequently their Academies to flourish: The City Merchant enricht by Traffique, beyond the pattern of former times: The Countrey Farmer wealthy: And, into the bargain of all these, an Universali Peace on every side i as it were, to assure the quiet possession of them. This Nation now in so splendid a condition, who could imagine that it could in a short space be stript and dismantled of all these blessings ? But vicissitude is the great standard of human affaires, like the Sun necrest their tropique in their most exalted pitch. And at this very instant in England, whilst it went well with every one, it went ill with all; and though the Kingdom thrived in parcells, yet was it deceived in the whole. For now began the spirit of envy, emulation, and discord, the inseperable companions of prosperity, to split us into Devisions and Factions, Sidings, and that's enough, for a Kingdome divided against it selfe cannot stand. And as the worst of Factions are generated in the best of concernments, Religion, so there did ours unhappily begin, and about this very time, great commotions and stirs arising in the Church concerning Ceremonies.

The Biflion, of late yeares supinely, either carelesse, or indulgent, Commotions had not required within their Diocesses that strict obedience to Ecclesiasticall constitutions, which the Law expected: Upon this the Leiturgy began to be in a manner totally laid alide, and inconformity the uniforme practife of the Church. The now Archbishop was of another minde and metall; that the external worship of God should follow the fashion of every private fancy, he did not like; and what he did not like in that subject, as he was in state, so he thought it was his duty to reforme. Therefore keeping this yeare his Metropoliticall visitation, he calls upon all both Clergy and Laiety, to observe the Rules of the Church. Can it give just offence, to say that, thus far, he did but what forted with the office of so great a Prelate? Where there is not a legall settlement for the upholding uniformity, Schisme will flow in a apase; and the Church hath experimentally found, Schifme in things adiaphorous, is as fatall to her well-being, as Herefie in points Dogmaticall. And better no Lawes at all, then that notwithstanding such establishments, men be permitted in pra-&ise to goe more or lesse. But his zeale to order, that carried him thus farre, transported him a little too farre. The Communion Table which formerly stood in the midst of the Church or Chancell, he injoyned to be placed at the East end, upon a graduated advance of ground, with the ends inverted, and a wooden traverse of railes before it, to keep Profanation off, to which Railes all Commumissings were to refore. These things were decent and comely in

An. Christi 1635.

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Treasurer.

Bishop Fuxen made Lo:d

An. Christi 1636.

contemplation, and had been so in practife, had they been within the rule of the Church directions, but being anomalous innovarions, and so severely urged, many became thereupon precise, and seperated themselves into factious sidings; nor was this a Schisme of an ordinary affife, but grew to that processe, to that degree, as, to speak in the primitive mode, Altar was erected against Altar, that is, one Bishop impugned and opposed another; for the Bishop of Lincoln (being affronted by one Titly Vicar of Grantham) published a Tract under a concealed name, politively afferting therein, That the Holy Table anciently did in the Primitive times, and ought fo in ours, according to the Dictates of our Church, stand in gremio, and nave of the quire. And as the Archbishop whilst he so vehemently pursued order, did a little outrun authority; so was he unhappy in those he did imploy as instruments and subordinates under him. some whereof endeavoured to superinduct many things as will-worship of their own, and which came within a Mathematical line of Popery; nor were they blamelesse in their lives, some being vicious even to scandal, nor of so meek and humble behaviour as was to be wisht, but infolent at a rate so intollerable, as one was bold to say, he hoped to live to see the day, when a Minister should be as good a man, as any up fart Fack Gentleman in England : to fuch a height of infatuation, had a petry blaze of mistaken honour elevated this high Flyer; who in lieu of those frolique dayes he looked to see, lived to fee that very Hierarchy extirpated, and lived to fee himfelf deplumed of all his Pomp. These exorbitances of those Sons of Eli. from the rules of Ethicks, created a very great difgust against them. and many well enough affected to their Empire, did exceedingly blame their imperiofity. The Presbyterians were gainers by all this, being men for the generality free of any morall scandal (faving that they were thought Saint Pauls Idolaters, and over-folicitous of filshy lucre) and pretended to a most demure formality and supple mildnesse, plausible infinuations into vulgar esteem, whereby they daily prevailed upon the affections of such, who little thought such out fide lambs, had clawes and asperities (so cunningly did they conceal them) far more sharp and terrible then the Prelates, whereof they gave some yeares after, sensible demonstration.

The next Summer the Royal Fleet now compleated to fixty fail of tall Ships, set sail from the Downes for the North, to scour that Sea as of Pirates, so of the Flemish Busses; which they did to so good effect, as they were soon reduced to a precarious condition, and to entreat the favour of fishing by his Majesties commission:a veniality the King was most ready to indulge them; For first, in that preparation he had no design paramount to the preservation of his Regalities in the British Ocean; this gained, he fought no more. Again, he knew well that nothing was more pertinent to the Prince Electors interest, then the correspondence of those States, nor was any affi-

stance more like to mean and procure his Restauration then theirs, and therefore it was good policy to oblige them with all fair shews of amity. For the Kings passion for his Nephews restauration did not at all languish, but rather contracted new vigour from his presence at the English Court. And because there was indicted an Imperial Diet at Ratisbone, Septemb. the 16. of this year, for the Election of an Emperour, he was resolved once more to solicite his cause. hoping the change of the person might dispose to a change of minde. The instrument he made choyce of for this affair, was the Earl of Arundel, Lord Marshall of England, in most gallant Barl of Arunequipage he went attended with a noble train, and comming to del fent Amthe Imperial Court, he presented his Masters request to the Emperour; who reply'd that it was probable that Prince might be re admitted to enjoy the lower Palatinate, but as to the higher it was not likely that the Duke of Bavaria, who then possess himselse of it, would listen to any proposition destructive to his present interest therein. A very sharp and fierce encounter there was between the Ambassadour and the Deputies of the Emperour upon this subject; so as they could hardly temper themselves from offensive contumelies. Some of the Electors in the Diet were very inclinable to the restitution, conceiving that it would be very difficult to found a ftedy peace without it, but the Duke of Bavaria faid peremptorily he would neither part with the territories, nor Dignity Electoral, while he was able by the sword to hold them: whereupon the Lord Ambassadour much incensed that he so long attended to so little purpose, without deigning any the honour of an a Dien, made hafte away: and though the Emperour did send the Spanish and Pologn Ambassadors after to appeale him, and to request his patience but a moneth longer, yet would he not be exorated or be prevailed with, but came directly home, having first dispatcht Letters of advice to his Master, concerning the state of his Negotiation; whereby the King difcontented at the small regard his Ambassadour found at the Imperial Diet, was prompted to return an equall slight upon an Agent imployed foon after by the Emperour hither about the same affair.

This breach between our King and the Emperour, did not Overtures of a at this time more feem to frown upon, then another occasion the King of to flatter that Princes fortunes; for now the King of Poland Poland and the sent Prince Ratzevill to treat with our King of a marriage be- Lady Elizab. tween that King and the Lady Elizabeth, lifter of the Prince Elector, which was profecuted to a very neer point of conclusion. Certain it is, that King was seriously inclined to the match, but he being an Elective Prince, was in such an affair to submit to the Diet of that Kingdome, and in that it found so fair acceptance, as two of the three Estates had once accorded to it. But

An. Christi 1636.

147

An. Christi 1636.

An. Christi 1636. the Clergy making a pawse in their consent, upon a seeming suggestion that the businesse was of too high importance to be so precipitated, in the interim interveneth a proposition from the Emperour and King of Spain, of Cecilia Arch-Dutchesse, and second sister of the Emperour. This overture so soon wrought upon that Nation, as renouncing all further treaty with England, or any other State, the match was instantly concluded with that Austrian Lady, and the Prince Elector remitted to his former state of dissidence, if

not of despair.

The Archbishop of Canterbury having in his Provincial visitation the last year setled Church affairs in most places to his minde, though thereby he had unfetled and discomposed the mindes of others, began now to cast a narrow eye upon the University of Cambridge. Some spies had informed him, that not only Divine Service was performed, but also Sacraments administred in severall Chappels there, as in those of Emanuel and Sidney-Suffex Colledge, which had not yet been confecrated. This he thought an high indignity to Religion, and such as created a necessity of his visitation. But the University hearing of what he purposed. pretended an exemption from his Jurisdiction, that they had the Power he challenged within the Charter of their own Foundation; and that faving themselves, none had right to visit them. unlesse it were his Majesty, whom they agnised as their Founder. Whereupon so hot a contest arose between the Archb shop and the University, that it came to an hearing before the King and his Privy Councel at Hampson Court, where it was overruled for the Archbishop.

The great de bate about Ship-money.

In Michaelmas term was canvassed and debated that grand controversie between the King and Subject about Shipmony: for the Ship writs having been issued out August the 11. 1635. to divers Counties, many Inhabitants, and amongst the rest Mr. Hambden of Buckinghamshire, assessed by the Sherisse, made default of payment, whereupon the King (so steddy a respect did he defer to justice) equally hating to be either flattered into, or frighted from the belief of its legality, wrote a letter to the Judges, demanding their opinions upon the case stated, the Letter was,

To Our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Bramston, Knight, Chief Fustice of Our Bench, Sir John Finch, Knight, Chief Fustice of Our Court of Common Pleas, Sir Humphrey Davenport, Knight, Chiefe Baron of Our Court of Exchequer, and to the rest of the Fudges of Our Courts of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Barons of our Court of Exchequer.

Charles

Charles Rex. 'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, taking into Our Princely confideration, that the Honor and safety of this Our Realm of England, the preservation whereof is onely entrusted to Our care, was, and is, more dear-'ly concern'd then in late former times: as well by divers counsells and attempts to take from Vs the Dominion of the Seas, of which We 'are sole Lord, and rightfull Owner, or Propriator, and the losse whereof would be of greatest danger, and perill to this Kingdome, and other Our Dominions, and many other 'wayes: We, for the avoiding of these and the like dangers, well weighing with Our self that where the good and safety of the Kingdome in generall is concern'd, and the whole Kingdome in danger, there the charge and de-'fence ought to be born by all the Realm in generall: did, for the preventing so pub-'lique a mischief, resolve with Our self to have 'a Royal Navy prepared, that might be of force and power (with Almighty Gods blef-'fing and assistance) to protect and defend this Our Realm, and Our Subjects therein from 'all fuch perils and dangers, and for that pur-'pose We issued forth writs under Our Great Seal of England, directed to all Our Sheriffs

149

An. Christ of Our severall Counties of England and Wales, Commanding thereby all Our said 'Subjects, in every City, Town, and Vil-'lage, to provide such a number of Ships, well furnisht, as might serve for this Royall purpose, and which might be done with the greatest equality that could be. In performance whereof, though generally throughout 'all the Counties of this Our Realm, We have found in Our Subjects great chearful-'nesse and alacrity, which We graciously in-'terpret as a testimony, as well of their duti-'full affection to us, and our service, as of the respect they have to the Publique, which well becometh every good Subject; Neverthelesse finding that some few, happily out of igno-'rance what the Lawes and Customes of this 'Realm are, or out of a desire to be eased in their particulars, how generall soever the charge be, or ought to be, have not yet paid 'and contributed to the severall Rates and As-'sessements that were set upon them. And fore-seeing in Our Princely wisdome, that from thence divers Suites and Actions are 'not unlikely to be commenced, and profecu-'ted in our feveral Courts at Westminster; VVe, 'defirous to avoid fuch inconveniences, and out of Our Princely love and affection to all 'Our People, being willing to prevent such er-

'rours as any of our loving Subjects may An. Christi happen to run into, have thought fit in a case of this nature to advise with you Our Judges, who We doubt not are well studyed and informed in the Rights of Our Soveraignty. 'And because the trials in Our several Courts, by the formalities in pleading, will require a long protraction, We have thought fit by this Letter directed to you all, to require your 'Tudgments in the Case, as it is set down in the 'inclosed Paper, which will not only gain time, but also be of more Authority to over-rule any prejudicate opinions of others in the 'Point. Given under Our Signet at Our 'Court of White-hall, the 2. day of February in the twelfth year of Our Reign, 1626.

Charles Rex.

Charles Rex.

'rours

When the good and safety of the Kingdome in generall is concern'd, and the whole Kingdome in danger; whether may not the King by Writ under the Great Seal of England, command all the Subjects in his Kingdome at their charge to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, vistuals, and Munition, and for such time as he shall think fit for the defence and safeguard of the King-

An. Christi

1636.

The Reign of King Charles.

An. Christi dome from such danger and peril, and by Law 1636. compell the doing thereof in case of refusall or refractorinesse: and whether in such case is not the King the sole fudge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?

To which the Judges delivered their opinions as follow-

May it please your most excellent Majesty, we have according to your Majesties command, severally, and every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious consideration the case and questions signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your Letter. And we are of opinion, that, when the good and Safety of the Kingdome in generall is concerned, and the whole Kingdome in danger, your Majesty may by Writ, under your Great Seal of England, command all the Subjects of this your Kingdome, at their charge to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victual, munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safegard of the Kingdome from such perill and danger. And, that by Law your Majestie may compell the doing thereof in case of refusall or refractorinesse. And we are also of opinion, that in such case your Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented, and avoided.

Fohn Bramston. Fohn Finch. Humphrey Davenport. Fehn Denham.

Richard Hutton. William Fones. George Crook. Thomas Trever.

George Vernon. Robert Barkly. Francis Crauly. Richard Weston.

This

These opinions being subscribed by all the Judges, and involled in all the Courts of Westminster Hall, the King thought he had now warrant sufficient to proceed against all defaulters, and especially against Mr. Hambden, who being summoned by processe, appeared and required Oyer of the Ship-writs, which being read he demurred in Law, and demanded the opinion of all the Judges upon the legall sufficiency of those Writs.

This great case coming to be argued in the Exchequer, the major part of the Judges delivered their opinions in favour of the Writs, and accordingly the Barons gave judgement against Mr. Hambden; yet did not the question altogether so repose, but Mr.

The Reign of King Charles.

Hambden observing some Judges, viz. Creok and Hutton of a contrary fense, held up the contest still, though all in vain, all his inquietude not gaining him the least acquittall untill an higher power interposed.

March the 17, the Queen bare to the King a Third daughter the

Lady Princesse Anne.

Fune the 14. a Triumvirate of Libellers, Mr. Prin, a Barrester of Lincolns Inne, Dr. Bastwick, a Physician, and Mr. Burton, a Divine, fometimes Tutor to the King, received a severe censure in the Star chamber. The crimes, whereof the information against them confifted, were homogeneous, and all of a fute, though the men of different Professions. Mr. Prynne was sentenced for publishing some pamphlets scandalous both to Episcopal Government it felf, and also to the Bishops; Dr. Bastwick for a Latine Apology ad Prasules Anglicanos, and a Litany very virulent against them; Mr. Burton for two pamphlets of fimilary nature, and argument, and of as tart a style. For these offences the Court awarded them a smart punishment; Mr. Prynne felt the heaviest stroke, because he had been censured there formerly, and an additional offence deserved, they thought, an additional castigation. He was fined five thousand pounds to the King, to lose the remainder of his ears in the Pillory, to be stigmatized, or if you will, sigmatized, on both cheeks with the letter S for a Schismatick, and to be perpetually imprisoned in Carnarvan Castle in Wales. Dr Bastwick and Mr. Burton were sentenced each five thousand pounds fine to the King, to lose their ears in the Pillory, and to be impriprisoned, the first in Lanceston Castle in Cornwall, and the other in Lancaster Castle.

Fune the 26. the Prince Elector beginning to languish in his hopes of succour from his Unkle, departed with his Brother Prince Ru-

pert for Holland. The next month presents us with the recidivation, a second Bishop Williams

fall of the insolent Prelate Williams Bishop of Lincoln. His first sentenced in was mentioned in the first year of this Kings Reign, which though the Star chambut from one stage, yet because a fall, that is, a constrained ber. and no spontaneous descent, he stomacht with most high indignation. That by the munificence of Royal Majesty he exchanged his woodden for a filver Mace, that from a Countrey Pedant he became in a double Relation a Peere of the Realme, that the in-tradoes and in comes of his Promotions enabled him to accumulate vast summes of Money, and to make acquist of large Revenues, and that of his dignites hee still retained the greatest part,

152

An. Christi 1637.

these things he little minded (so powerfull is with worthlesse soirits, one seeming discurtesse, to dis-oblige from the recognisance of antecedent favours, though never fo, either great or many.) Thus malevolently inclined, he thought he could not gratifie beloved revenge better, then to endeavour the supplanting of his Soveraign; to which end finding him declining in the affection of his People, he made his applications to them, fomenting popular discouries tending to the Kings dishonour, so long, untill at length the incontinence of his tongue betray'd him into speeches which trespast upon Loyalty. For which words, they having taken a vent, he was questioned by a Bill in the Star-chamber, 4. Car. But the information being somewhat lame, as being taken up upon refracted and second-hand report, the Accusation took a nap till about 8. Car. when it was revived again. And the Bishops purgation depending principally upon the testimony of one Prideon, it happened that the February after, one Elizabeth Hodson was delivered of a base childe, and laid it to this Prideon. The Bishop finding his great witnesse charged with such a load of filth and infamy, conceiv'd it would in-validate all his testimony, and that once rendred invalid, the Bishop could easily prognosticate his own ruine; therefore he bestirs himself a main, and though by order of the Justices at the Publique Session at Lincoln, Prideon was charged as the reputed father, the Bishop by his two agents, Powel and Owen, procured that Order suppressed, and by subornation and menacing of, and tampering with witnesses, at length in May 10. Car. procured the child fathered upon one Boon, and Prideon acquit. These lewd practifes, for the supportation of his favorites credit, cost the Bishop, as he confest to Sir Iohn Munson and others, twelve hundred pounds, so much directly, and by consequence much more. For being accriminated in the Star-chamber for this corrupting of witnesse, and being convicted (I will not say convinced) by evident and full proof, Tuly the 11, of this year, he received a most condign censure of ten thousand pounds fine to the King, imprisonment in the Tower during his Majesties pleasure, suspension ab Officis & Beneficiis, and to be referred to the High Commission for the rest. In this state I leave him, untill the series of a few years shall render him in a better.

Nor must I leave him only, but even England her self almost, for now began Scotland to be the great scene of action, and this ther must my discourse make its next transition. Of this and the next yeares commotions there, a true account I shall give you, though not an exact one, as to descend to every particular; that is done already as by a Royall hand, so style Imperatorio, in a full body, and Historical systeme: from whence I shall extract such occurrences as are of prime remarque, and as contractedly as may be, having regard to the symmetry of the other parts of this Nar-

ration. And because the precognition of their first extraction will An. Christi be necessary to the relation of those occurrences themselves, I shall there commence.

Original of the Scottle

The King observing his Father had it once in design to settle in Scotland a Liturgy, in order to uniformity, like that of England, but was taken away before he could accomplish it; thought himselse concerned to pursue his Fathers purpose: to which end he gave directions to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, and to divers Bishops of that Kingdome, to revise, correct, alter and change, as they pleased, the Liturgy compiled in his Fathers time. This Service-Book fo altered, and very little differing (as he was unhappily perswaded by them) from the English, he sent to his Councell of that Kingdome, ordering them to proclaim the reading of it upon the next Easter day, 1637. who upon better consideration respited it untill July the 23. but gave publique notice of it the Sunday before.

Fully the 23. being Sunday, the Dean of Edenburgh began to Siirs about the read the Book in St. Giles Church (the chief of that City) but he no sooner began, than the inferiour multitude began in a tumultuous manner to fill the Church with uproare, whereupon the Bishop of Edenburgh, stepr into the pulpie, and hoping to appeale them by minding them of the fanctiry of the place, they were the more inraged, throwing at him cudgels, stooles, and what was in the way of fury, unto the very endangering of his life: upon this the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Lord Chancellor, was enforced to call down from the Gallery the Provoft, Bagliffs, and other Magistrates of the City (then sitting there) to their assistance, who with much adoe at length thrust that unruly rabble out of the Church, and made fast the doores: This done, the Dean proceeded in reading the Book, the multitude in the mean while rapping affronced. at the doores, pelting the windowes with stones, and endeavouring what in them lay to disturb that Sacred exercise; but notwithstanding all their clamour, the Service was ended, but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishops retiring to his lodging, so assaulted him, as had he not been rescued by a strong hand, he had probably perisht by their violence. Nor was Saint Giles Church only thus pester'd, and profan'd, but in other Churches also, (though not in fo high a measure) the peoples disorders were unison and agreeable. The morning thus past, the Lord Chancellour and Councel assembled to prevent the like darings in the afternoon, which they fo effected, as the Liturgy was read without any disturbance: only the Bishop of Edenburgh was in his return to his lodging rudely treated by the people, both by execrations and other wayes, though in the Earl of Roxboroughs Coach.

All this time, the Magistrates of the City seemed so utterly to abhorr those tumultuous proceedings, as some they appre-

Proclamations

again Athole

cumul.s.

An Christi hended, and were industrious to enquire our others actors therein: and whereas the Ministers of that City craved dispensation from reading of the Book untill fecurity were given for the fifeguard of their persons; the Magistrates and Councel of Edinburgh draw up an obligatory Act, both for indemnity of their persons, and also for their feeled maintenance.

Now the long vacation and Huvest began to come on, and sedirion being the businesse of idle men, the distempers began a while to flumber; but their corne being inned, and chiefe employments over, Edenburgh began to swarm againe to a formidable number, and the City to relax so far in their former earnestnesse for the ser. vice Book, as many of them presen ed a Petition to the Lords of the Councel, craving the Book might be no farther prest upon them, untill the King should signifie his further pleasure. The Councel upon this, observing so great a confluence, and the City so dis-affected, and fearing some dangerous consequence, issued our oateb. the 17. three Proclimations, the first to notifie the deffolving their meeting, in relation to Church matters, and that every man fortbwith repaire home to their owne dwellings, texcept such who shall shew just cause of their stay to the Lords upon pain of Rebel lion. The second for removing of the Session the Term from Edenburgh to Lithgow. And the third, for calling in and vurning a sedicious Book, entituled A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland. These Proclamations were not water, but rather fuel to the flume. For the next day the Bishop of Galloway being to sit with the Lord Chief Fustice upon some especial businesse in the Councel house, he was purfued all along the street with bitter raylings to the very Councel door, and being drawn in from the rage of the people, they immediately beset the house, demanding the delivery of him, threatning his destruction. The Earl of Traquair being advertifed of the Bishops danger, came presently to his relief; and, with much adoe, forced an entrance through the presse of the Mutineers. But being got in, he was in no better plight than the Bishop, the clamour encreasing still more and more, and encompassing the Councell-house with terrible menaces. Hereupon the Lord Provost and City-Councell was called upon to raise the siege; but they returned answer, that their condition was the same, for they were furrounded with the like multitude, who had enforced them, for fear of their lives, to figne a Paper importing, First, That they should adhere to them in opposition to the Service Book. Secondly, Restoreso their places Mr. Ramsey, and Mr. Rollock, two st lenced Ministers, and one Henderson a silenced Reader. No better answer being returned, the Lord Treasurer, with the Earl of Wigton, went in person to the Town Councell-house, where they found the heat of the fury somewhat abated, because the Magistrates

gistrates had figned the Paper, and returned with some hope An. Christi that the Magistrates would calme the disorders about the Councel-house, so as the Bishop might be preserved; but they no sooner presented themselves to the great street, then they were most boisterously assaulted, the throng being so furious, as they pulled downe the Lord Treasurer, took away his hat, cloak, and whitewand, and so haled him to the Councell house. The Lords seeing themselves in so great hazard, at length pitcht upon the best expedient for their safery, and sent to some of the Noble men and Genery, who were dif-affected to the Service-Book, to come to their aide. These Lords and Gentlemen came, as was desired, and offered both their Perfons and Power to protect them; which the Lords in the Councell boufe readily embraced, and fo were quietly guarded to Haly rood house, and the Bishop to his lodg-

The Lords of the Councell now thinking themselves secure, that Another Provery afternoon commanded a Proclamation to be made at the Crosse of Edenburgh, for the repressing such disorders for the time to come; but slender obedience was yeelded thereunto; for the CitiZens fent Commissioners to the Councell Table, demanding the restauration of their Ministers, and performance of what was promifed before their Pacification: and not long after the Councell was boorded with a Petition, not of a rude multitude, but of Noble men, Barons, Ministers, Burgesses and Commons, against the Litargy and Canons. This Petition was sent to the King, who, displeased with the contents thereof, gave in- tition against structions for adjourning the Terme to Sterling, twenty foure miles from Edenburgh, that so the former confluence might be precluded, and also for publishing a Praclamation interdicting upon the highest penalty, such tumultuous resorts. Upon the very day, being February 19. and immediately after the reading of this Proclamation at Edenburgh, the Earle of Hume, and the Lord Lindsey, with some others, caused their Protestation against it to be read; and agreeable to their Protestation, in despight of the Kings Proclamation, crecked four Tables, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burroughs, a fourth of the Ministers; these soure were to prepare and digest what was to be propounded at the Generall Table, formed of severall Commissioners chosen from the rest.

The first-borne and eldest brat of this Generall Table, was a renewing the antient Confession of Faith, of that Kirk, (for the Enter into a Devill himselfe, is never himselfe, but when he becomes a seeming | Solemn Cove Saint) and entring a Generall Covenant, pretended to preserve their Religion there profest, and the Kings Person, but aiming in truth at the destruction of both. The Councell, upon the first publication of this combination, sent a dispatch to the King by

quair affaulted.

The Scors Pe-

An. Christi Sir Fohn Hamilton, to advertise him thereof; the King animadverted every prevarication from the ancient mode, and wondred at their unparallel'd impudence, to prefix a title so sell-destructive; for they had contrived it thus.

> The Confession of Faith subscribed at first, by the Kings Majesty and his Houshold, in the yeare of God 1580. Thereafter by persons of all rankes, in the yeare 1581. by Ordinance of the Lords of the Secret Councell, and Acts of the Generall Assembly. Subscribed againe, by all forts of persons in the yeare 1590. by a new Ordinance of Councell, at the desire of the General Assembly; with a Generall Band for the maintenance of the true Religion, and the Kings Person; And now subscribed in the yeare 1638. by us Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons, under-sub= (cribing.

> From hence the King observed, that in the three first subscriptions, either his Fathers own act is exprest, or an Ordinance of the Lords of the secret Councell, which is equivalent to Regall Authority, was obtained, and at the desire of the Generall Assembly ; whereas in the last, neither was his own, nor his delegated Authority to his Councel implored, nor was there any Generall Affembly to entreat it. So that the exacting of a Publique Oath, which could not legally be done without the highest authority, was actually done without the

least shadow of it. Differing from

Againe, in the frame of the Covenant he noted a difference of dangerous consequence, from former precedents; for whereas preceding Bands annext to Confessions, were formed in Defence of Himselfe, his Authority and Person, this new edition hath a Combination against all persons whatsoever, not Himselse ex-

Marquesse Hamilton fent Commiffioner into Scotland.

former prece-

sents.

The King nothing pleased with these affronts, yet studious to compose these surges of discontent, sent the Marquesse of Hamilton down in the quality of an High Commissioner, impowering him with a Commission to use the utmost of his Interest and Power for the set-

ling of peace.

Is flighted.

Fune the 6. his Commission was read and accepted by him at Dalkeith, where though he abode many dayes, and it was but four miles distant from Edenburgh, yet would not the Covenanters take any notice of his being there, nor make any addresse to him: and the better to colour their sleight, they pretended

An. Christi 1638.

Comes to E.

derburgh.

157

der, which with some small quantity of ammunition, intended for the service of the Castle of Edenburgh, had been there diffembar-

qued a few dayes before.

ming disobedient people.

Not long after the Marquesse at the earnest solicitation and supplication of the City of Edenburgh, and upon affurance of that Cities good behaviour, and quiet deportment, removed from Dalkeith to Holy-rood house, where he fell presently into Communication with the Covenanters. First, what they expected from the King in satisfaction to their grievances. Next, what affurance they would give of their returning to due obedience, and renunci-

ation of the Covenant. To the first they replyed, that nothing The Covenanbut a Generall Affembly and a Parliament could give them fatisfaction. To the second they answered, that they disavowed any general Assem-bly and Parliretreat from their Loyalty, and therefore needed no returne towards it. And for the Covenant, That they would fooner renounce

their Baptism then it, And that this was a proposition they would never endure to heare a second time: which they took speedy care to prevent, for they resented it with so much wrath, as they doubled their Guards both upon the Castle and Gity: whereupon the

Marquesse in order to his safety, returned to Dalketth, and fent Double their to the King for new instructions; to which his Majesties answer

> The King yeelds to their

This Proclamation was no fooner ended, but the Covenanters were ready with a traverling Protest against it, wherein they ters obflinate. seemed highly to distaste, to have their actions branded with the notion of disobedience : and declared, that they would never abandon their Covenant upon such suggestions, and that they would not wait the Kings conveniency for calling of an Assembly; but if he did not approve of their proceedings, they would call a Generall Assembly then: selves.

was, that he would have him forthwith publish by Proclamation

his Declaration, wherein he affured that Kingdome of his constancy

in the Protestant Religion; that he would never further presse nor

urge the practife of the Canons, and Service-Book, but in a faire

and legall way, and had given Order for the discharge of all Asts

of Councell concerning them; And that he had taken into con-

sideration the indicting of a Generall Assembly and Parliament,

wherein might be agitated what should most concerne the peace

and welfare of the Kirk and Kingdome. Whereupon he expected

that those his subjects, sensible of his gracious favour, would give

testimoniall of their future loyalty, and no further provoke him to

make use of that power which God had given him, for the reclai-

The Covenan-

The Marquesse finding them still thus obstinate, told them that The Marquesse the fock of his instructions was spent, and that he must resort recurns into to England for a fresh supply, thereupon they acquainted him,

159

An. Christi 1638.

that they expected his Majesties answer, and his returne upon the 5. of August next at the furthest, they promiting in the interim to continue in a peaceable condition, nor to act any thing untill!

The Marquesse coming into England, and making known to the King the state of his affaires in Scotland, he dispatche him away with new orders, so as he might be there at the time pre-

And again into Scotland.

The Marquesse upon his returne, found a strange rumour spread abroad, as if he were well fatisfied with, and did approve of their Covenant, so as to vindicate his owne reputation, he was compelled to call in aide of the Lords of the Councell, and others of the Nobility to be his compurgators. This aspersion being (as he thought) sufficiently wiped off, he presently falls upon conference with the Covenanters about the indicting of the Assembly, demanding first, to know of what Members it should be constituted, and of what matters it should treat: whereat they slew out into an extreme rage, giving out, that these Propositions were destructive to their Liberties, and a prelimitation of that Assembly, which ought to be free, and told the Marquesse, that the Assembly it selfe should be Fudge, both of their owne Members, and of the matters whereof it should take cognisance.

These things put the Commissioner to a plunge, and made him explicitely declare his instructions, which were to indict an Assembly, but upon concession of these ten Articles.

Proposals con cerning the Affembly.

- 1. That all Ministers deposed or suspended by Presbyteries since the first of February last, without warrant of the Ordinary, should be restored till they were legally convicted.
- 2. That all Moderators of Presbyteries deposed, since that time without such warrant, be restored, and all others chosen in their stead, to desist from acting as Moderators.
- 3. That no Minister, admitted since that time without such warrant, shall exercise the Function of the Ministery.
- 4. That all Parishioners repaire to their owne Church , and that Elders assist the Ministers in the Discipline of the Church.
- 5. That all Bishops and Ministers have their rents and stipends duly paid them.

6. That

6. That all Ministers attend their owne Churches, and none come to the Assembly, but such as shall be chosen Commissioners from the Presbyteries.

An. Christi 1638.

7. That every Moderator be appointed to be a Commissioner from that Presbyterie, whereof he is a Moderator, according to the AEt of the Affembly, 1606.

8. That Bishops, and others, who shall attend the Assembly, be secured in their persons from all trouble.

9. That no Lay person meddle in the choice of Commissioners from Presbyteries.

10. That all Convocations and meetings be diffolved, and that the Countrey be reduced to a peaceable posture.

These Articles would no way be condescended to, and the main answer to them was, an appeale to the Generall Assembly. where they were properly to be decided. Upon this refufall the Commissioner entertained a resolution of another journey, which the Covenanters understanding, they bruited abroad among their adherents, that he neither had power from the King, nor any inclination in himself to give the people any satisfaction: which seemingly so incensed him, that he contracted all his former Propositions into these two.

1. If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves, Contraded and the rest, that no Laiques shall have votes in choosing the Ministers to be sent from the severall Presbyteries to the Generall Assembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the same Presbyterie.

2. If they will undertake that the Assembly shall not goe about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherwayes then by remonstrance to the Parliament. leaving the determining of things Ecclesiasticall to the generall Affembly; and things fetled by Acts of Parliament to the Parliament.

Then I will prefently indict a Generall Assembly, and promise, upon mine Honour, immediately after to call a Parliament.

These propositions put the Covenanters into such a fit of choler as they presently gave order for a Generall Assembly, but when the fit was off, and they began to cool, upon second thoughts they

161

An. Christi 1638.

Hammilton goes for Eng-

The Kings gracious Declaration.

Protested a-

gainft.

conceived it meet to forbear, untill the Commissioner should return from the King, with a more pleasing answer, for which they limited him to the 21. of September next; promising, in the interim, not to proceed to Election. The Commissioner posting to the King found him at Oatlands.

where entring into consultation of the matter with his Privy Counsellors then present, and pursuing the advice of his Councel in Scotland, refolved, as he thought, upon a way which would not leave any remnants of discontent, and sent back the Marquese with ample instructions agreeable to it, who returned within his time limited, but found the Covenanters had given order for an Election to be on the 22. of September, the very next day after that prefixt; this the Commissioner interpreted to be a kinde of equivocation, but would take no notice of it, but according to his instruction on that 22. of September, assembling the Councel, delivered them a letter from the King, acquainting them with what course he meant to pursue for the benefit of that Kirk and State. Then he appointed the Kings Declaration to be read: wherein he nulled the Service-Book, the Book of Canons, the High Commission, discharged the pressing of the five Articles of Perth, Ordered that all persons whatsoever, Ecclesiastical or Civill, should be lyable to censure of Parliament, and Generall Assembly. That no other Oath be administred to Ministers at their entry, but what was contained in the Act of Parliament. That the antient Confession of Faith, and Band thereunto annexed, should be subscribed and renewed, as it was in his Fathers time. That a Generall Assembly be holden at Glasgow, November the 21. 1638. and a Parliament at Edenburgh the 15. of May, 1639. Wherein he pardoned all by gone offences, and indicted a Generall Fast.

Immediately after this Declaration published, the Confession of Faith was read, and subscribed by the Marquesse, and the Lords of the Councel. Then a Proclamation for the General Assembly, next another for the Parliament. And lastly, were proclaimed an Act of the Lords of the Councel, requiring a general subscription of the Confession of Faith, and a Commission directed to divers

for taking the subscription.

These Ads of Regal authority being past; the Covenanters, after their usual mode, brought up the rear with a Protest, wherein they moved the People to consider with whom they were to deal, and mightily decry'd the new subscription to the confession of Faith, excepted against the Archbishops and Bishops, as not to have any votes in the Assembly.

This done, they proceeded to election of Commissioners for the Assembly, and first issued Orders from their Table, That every Parish should fend to the Presbytery of their limit one Lay man, whom

they called a Ruling Elder, who should have equal vote with the Minister in the Presbytery. Then they stept on, and moved the Commissioner, that he would grant out Warrants of citation against the Archbishops and Bishops to appear at the Aessmbly, as Rei, orguilty persons; which he refusing, they presently framed a Bill of complaint against them, charging them with many mis-demeanours. This Bill was presented to the Presbytery of Edenburgh, which offeber the 24. thereupon warn'd them all to compeer at the next Generall Affembly to be holden at Glasgow, Novemb: 21.

The day of the Assembly being come, the Marquesse his Commission was read in the afternoon, and nothing elie done considerably that day. The next day a Declinator and Protestation was presented to the Commissioner, in the name of the Archbishops cest against and Bishops, against the Assembly, and containing a Nullity the Assembly of it. But it was denyed to be read, whereupon the Commissioner entred a Protestation against the refusall of it, and took instruments thereupon. The main cause of this refusall, was pretended to be, because nothing could be done, untill the Moderator were chosen. which was the next work: but when he was elected, and the Commissioner offered again the Declinator to be read, then they reply'd, that the Assembly must first be fully constituted. After this they proceeded to debate of the Elections, which they did with so cautelous a scrutiny, as they left no man standing in the quality of a Commissioner, who was not clearly agreeable to their minde. Though the admission of Lay-Elders past not without some high contest. Many places (even the Presbytery of Glasgow for one) protesting against the legality of their Session; which was also the deeper resented by the Commissioner, because the King having nominated fix Lords of his Privy Councel to be Affesfors to his Commissioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to entertain them, or allow their suffrage, affirming withall, that were the King himself present, be should have but one vote, and that no negative one neither.

The Commissioner concluding from these premises, that no good was like to be done by continuing the Assembly longer, November, the 28. consulted with the Councel about its dissolution, and it being agreed in the affirmative, he went to the Affembly, and told them.

You are now about to settle the lawfulnesse of this Fudicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow; I am glad I have feen this Affembly met, a thing which was supposed his Majesty never intended, and for the further clearing the integrity of his intentions, let this Paper which I deliver to the Clerk to be read bear witnesse.

An. Christ 1638.

Bishops Pro-

The

163

An. Christi 16:8.

The General Attembly diffolyed.

Argile declares for the Cov.-

Covenanters begin to arm.

The rife and growth of Presbytery. The paper being read by the Clerk, was a Declaration, the same in every substantiall point with the Proclamation, discharging the Service-Book, Book of Canons, &c. This Declaration soon after the reading, was signed by the Commissioner, and required to be entred into the Books of the Assembly; provided that this Ast of Registring this Declaration, should be no approbation of the law-tulnesse of this Assembly, to the dissolution whereof he was next to proceed, and therefore protested, that whatsoever should be done or said in it should not be obligatory, or be reputed an Ast of a General Assembly. The very night of the dissolution of this Assembly, the Commissioner assembled the Councel to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving it, which being retolved upon, was subscribed by all, but the Earl of Argile, who began now to shew himself for the Covenanters.

The Procl mation being formed, and published, Nov. 29. was encountred with a Protestation of the Covenanters, That it is lawful for them to sit still, and continue the Assembly, and that they would still adhere to all their former Protestations; and accordingly pursuing the tenor of their Protestation, presently declared six former Generall Assemblies, (which they thought would differve them) to be null, deprived all the Bishops, and some they excommunicated, and soon after abolished Episcopacy it self as inconsistent with the lawes of that Church, And the Commissioner being returned in discontent for England, began might and main to levy Souldiers, to impose taxes, to raise fortifications, to block up some and seize others of the Kings Castles, and to prepare for Warre.

Now because this Warre was the Epoche, the Nativity day from whence all the series of this Kings troubles are to be computed, and all for the advancement of Presbytery, it may perhaps give satisation to some if I deliver the first rise, the motions, the processes thereof, and how it contracted such power within this ssle.

It was this year an exact Century fince Calvin first set his soot into Geneva, where the Bishop being expelled, necessary it was some other Government should be succenturiated instead of the former. Calvin being of high esteeme there, the contrivance thereof was committed to his care. He observing the Town Democraticall in the Civill, thought an Ecclesiastical state elemented of respondent principles, would sute best: upon which consideration he formed a Consistory of Elders, whereof a great part were Lay. And these were to manage all Ecclesiasticall concernments. Famous was he for this new-modell, no less then Columbus for his America, nor was it enough it was reputed a prudent institution, it must also be entituled to Divine, and Sacred Scripture tortured to declare as much. Most kind reception it found with the Gallican, and Belgique Churches. Where planted and setted, the next designe was to dispatch

it over into Great Britain : to which effect Beza writes a comply- An. Christi ing Epistle Commendatory to Queen Elizabeth, presenting this Geneva Plat-form, as the onely desideratum wanting to Englands Reformation. The Queen was loath to proferibe so long a standard las Episcopacy, to enterraine such an upstart in mate as Presbytery, therefore gave Bela his saying, but not his desire; this was Anno 1560. And shortly after, not onely She, but the whole Parliament (whereof some members began now to incline to the D.sciplinarian Sect) were summoned againe by Libels, called an Admonision to the Parliament, and Defence of that Admonition, to the Abolition of Episcopacy as Antichristian. But all this notwithstanding, both She and her Pan-Anglium, or great Councel, stood fixt and inexorable, so that all the efforts and attempts of the other party, could not produce any confiderable unsettlement of that antient discipline. In Scotland true it is, the new-projected modell prospered better, for the Earl of Murray, or rather the Prior of Saint Andrewes (base brother to the Queen) with his complices, Knox, Buchannan, and others in their firit Reformation, about An. 1560. gave so terrible a shock to Popery, as made every thing, and by consequence Episcopacy which stood neer it, to reel. Which neverthelesse held them tug a skore of yeares, nor could they supplant it all at once, but gained upon it by degrees. First an Assembly at Dundee, Anno 1580. Ordered all Bisbops upon pain of Excommunication, to resigne up their Offices; and about three veares after, prevailed with the Parliament, (the King being then in Minority) to annex their Temporalties to the Crown. Though this was acted in Scotland, yet was it not without instigation from England, and from some of her prime Nobility, animated by some Ministers who began to be now so pragmatical and busie, as to preserve Ecclesiasticall unity, the then Archbishop Whitgift by command from the Queen, that very yeare contrived those three eminent Articles in the late Canons, whereto all who defired to enter into facred orders were strictly enjoyned subscription, The first acknowledging the Queens Suprema. cie. The second, professing conformity to the Book of Commonprayer, and approbation of the Booke of ordering of Bishops', Priests and Deacons. And the third, assenting to the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England. Nor was the Hierarchy thus quite outed in Scotland, but somewhat revived again by the Parliament, ratifying the Clergy as the third Estate, Anno 1584. But the other party being resolved never to acquiesce, untill they obtained their mindes, grew so impetuous, as they, I cannot fay perswaded, but even forced that State, Anne 1592. to ratifie their Discipline. Thus did Episcopacy and Presbytery play Leve le queve, and take their turnes of Government for about thirty yeares; but in the yeare 1598. King James, the

An. Christi 1638.

Queen of England now declining, hoping his wardship to these hot spirits began now to expire, took up resolutions of animosity, and caused the Prelates to be restored to their antient vote in Parliament, and published his Book called Basil. Doron, expressing therein no great good will to the Confistorian Sect. And though An. 1603. upon his first accession to the English Crown, he was saluted here with a Petition, pretended of a thousand Ministers, that they might appear the more formidable, yet did he flight their boldnesse, and in Scotland by several Acts of Parliament, rescinded what had formerly been introduced to the prejudice of Episcopacy, so that from 1589. until this present, the Presbyters durst never appear in opposition.

The Queen Mother of France comes into England.

October the last, Mary de Medicis, the Queen Mother of France came to London, and so to Saint Famses. The people were generally male content at her coming, and wisht her farther off. For they did not like her traine and followers, which had often been observed to be the Sword, or Pestilence, so that she was beheld as some mercor of ill signification. Nor was one of these calamities thought more the effect of her fortune, then inclination, for her restlesse and uncessant spirit was prone to embroyle all wherefoever the came. Her impetuous banding and combining with Mounster the Duke of Orleans, and the improsperity of that enterprise made France too hot for her, and drave her in the yeare 16311 to Bruxels, where the Gardinall D' Infanta treated her a while with most honographe caresses and respects, but Flunders which at first seemed her place of Refuge, became afterward her greatest danger, the being (as her owne Manifesto fets forth) fo hunted and purfued with continual imprecations and curles there, as the began to fear some violence to her Person, so that quitting that Countrey, the betook her felf to the protection of the Prince of orange, 1627. This Prince treated her with greater civitity then fatisfaction to her discomposed minde, which now began to be vehemently bent for England, onely file waited for an Inviration from her Daughter; and Nature obliging to no leffer the foon obtained it. But these resolves were no whit pleasing to our King, who easily presaged some sad event would ensue. He saw Her both Person and Religion under an Universall Prejudice, that Her coming would raife constructions amongst a People already male dontent, little in favour of his affaires. He faw the was a Queen, confequently as a Queen must be entertained, which would prove a costly businesse, and such cost, he thought, might cost him dear, in such a time when the Scot fb insolencies prompted him to saving, if he would be fufe. Upon these considerations, dispatch upon dispatch was fent to Sir William Bolwell, then resident in the Low-Countries, Arially enjoyning him to use the most potent arguments & artifice he possibly could to divert her. But all his diffusions did small execution upon her fixt determinations, so that crosse she would.

The King perceiving the Scots meditated nothing but Warre, An. Christie thought it flender policy to strain courtesie with them, and to yeeld them the start, therefore by the advice of the Arch-bishop hastned the levies both of men and monies, with all possible experience and resistant and are dition; and because it was the Bishops Warre, he thought it requisite my. they should contribute largely towards the preservation of their owne Hierarchy; and accordingly Orders were issued from the Lords of the Councel to the Arch bishops of Canterbury and York, commanding them to fend forth directions to all the Bishops within their Provinces, to convene the Clergy of their Diocefes, and to invite them to a liberal' aid. What the precise product of the Clergy offerings was, is not materiall to infert, nor could my information reach it, onely it is prefumable it was very ample, so as with that and the spontaneous contributions of divers of the Nobility and Gentry, the King had amast together a considerable power; whereof the Earl of Arundel had the chiefe conduct : with this strength the King, March the 27. the day of his Inauguration, marched a- Goeth against gainst the Scots, and May the 28. encamped within two miles of Barnick, and within view of the Enemy who were ready to receive him. But all the preparation both of one fide and the other. proved onely an interview of two Armies, nothing being acted confiderable in way of engagement; for after some few dayes attendance each upon other in that quiet posture, an Overture came from the Scots of their supplication, that the King would appoint Commissioners to treat about a Pacification. The King most cheerfully imbraced the motion, and nominated the Earls of Pembreke, Salubury, Holland, and Barkshire, Sir Henry Vane, and Secretary Goke: to these were joyned on the Covenanters part, the Earls of Rother, of Dumfermlin, the Lord Loudon, the Lord Donglas, Alexander Hender fow, and Archivald Johnstown. These having had many severall debates, at length June the 17. concluded upon a Pacification distributed into these Articles,

On the Kings part,

1. His Majesty to confirme what his Commissioner Apacification, promised in his Name.

2. That a Generall Assembly be indicted, to be kept at Edenburgh, August the 6.

That command be given for a Parliament to be hol-

den at Edenburgh, August the 20.

That he recall all his Forces by Land or Sea, and restore all Ships and goods arrested and detained, fince the pretended Assembly at Glasgow, upon the

An. Christi 1639.

Covenanters disarming, and disbanding of their Forces, dissolving their Tables, and restoring to the King all his Castles, Forts, and Ammunition, and releasing all the persons, lands and goods then under restraint, or detained since the pretended Assembly of Glasgow. This bis Majesty to doe by Declaration.

On the Covenanters part,

1. The Forces of Scotland to be disbanded within forty eight houres after publication of the Kings Declaration.

2. They to render up, after the faid Publication, all Castles, Forts, Ammunition of all forts, so soon as the King shall fend to receive them.

3. They to hold no meetings, treatings, nor confultations, but such as are warranted by AET of Parliament.

4. They to defift from all Fortifications, and those to be remitted to the Kings pleasure.

5. They to restore to all the Kings Subjects, their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and meanes taken or detained from them, since the 1. of February last.

June the 18. the King figned his Declaration, and the Covenanters their Articles: This pacification did at first generally excite exceeding great tokens of joy, wherein none had more reason to be sincere then poor Aberden; for the Earl of Montroffe, Generall of the Covenanters, was that very time marching towards that Uni versity, with a Commission to consume it by fire to ashes, upon suggestion that the Inhabitants had falsified their Oathes.

The Declaration and Articles being signed, and affaires carrying so calme a front of peace, the King had intentions of being prefent at the Generall Affembly; but this lucid intervall proved but a weather breeder, and the apprehensions of a Pacification were foon transformed into an opinion, that they were but dreames, inward hostility appearing through the diaphanous body of all the

Scots actions.

The Covenanters fill refractory.

For the Declaration was no sooner published, but at that very houre the Covenanters produced a Protestation; First, of adhering to their late Generall Affembly at Glasgow, as a full and free Afsembly of their Kirk, and to all the proceedings there, especially to the sentences of deprivation and excommunication of the fometimes pretended Bishops of that Kingdome. Secondly, of adhering to their solemn Covenant, and Declaration of the AssemThe Reign of King Charles.

An. Christi 1639.

167

bly, whereby the Office of Bishops is abjured. Thirdly, that no members of the Colledge of Justice shall attend the Session, (or Term) and if they doe, all their A Is and Sentences shall be void and ineffectual.

Nor did they punctually performe any one Article: For they still kept their Officers in constant pay; they did not sleight their Fortification at Leith, distant a mile from Edenburgh; they still continued their meetings and consultations; they still disquieted, molested, and frighted all of different inclinations. And which was worst of all, they dispersed a scandalous Libel, entituled, Some conditions of his Majesties Treaty with his Subjects of Scotland, before the English Nobility, are set down here for remembrance: what these conditions were, I never could learn, but they being delivered into the hands of the English Nobility, whereof some had been Commissioners, they dis-avowed any such consent of his Majesty in their hearing, and by an Act of Councel the papers were appointed to be burnt by the Hangman.

Matters being in this doubtfull posture, the King had little minde to see himselse affronted, and thought these distempered disorders would be better born at a distance; therefore waving his former determination of being present at the General Assembly, towards the latter end of July, he plyes him home to England. Au- The generall gust the 6 according to the Kings indiction, the Assembly met and allembly meet fate at Edenburgh, and continued untill the 24. The great transactions of this Assembly was the abolishing of Episspacy, the five Articles of Perth, the High Commission, the Liturgy, and Book of Camans, all these assented to by the Commissioner, the Earl of Traquair.

Bishops, his Majesty might not be prejudiced in his right by their ex-

pulsion, but that he might have the choice of the eight Noblemen :

which the Parliament yeelded to for this once, but voted for the fu-

ture, every State should chuse their own Commissioners.

The Affembly now rifen, the Parliament being prorogued to Angust the last convened. The first four dayes produced an high debate about chusing the Lords of the Articles, in regard Episcopacy was abolished. What these Lords of the Articles were, and for what reason so denominated, it will be necessary here to explain, a thing not done elsewhere in any other Author, for illustration is the life of Hiftery. The antient ulage was constantly this. The King first named eight Bifhops; then those Bifhops chose eight Noblemen; those Noblemen chose so many Barons; and these the like number of Burgeffer; These thirty two, with eight Officers of the Crown, made up a compleat Committee of forty, who were to confider upon fuch Articles and Propositions, as being presented to them by the Clerk Register, were to be voted in Parliament, and this Committee were called Lords of the Articles. Now the Kings Commissioner demanded, that seeing the King antiently had the nomination of eight

The Pailia. ment affemble.

Then

169

rative of a late by past adventure hitherto supprest, through the An. Christi 1639.

An. Christi 1639. Incroach upon the Pre-

Then they entred into confideration of constituting the Third Estate, and what supplement should be resolved upon in the lieu of Bishops; the King urged the having of fourteen laicks, of such as were called Abbats and Priors, to represent the third Estate; but the Parliament voted. That Estate should be compleated by small Barons, who represented the Comminalty. Next they fell upon forming an A& Rescissory, whereby former Acts concerning the Judicatory of the Exchequer, concerning Proxies, and concerning confirmation of Ward-lands should be nulled.

Is prorogued.

rogative.

The King finding such pertinacity of endeavours, not to reform abuses, but to new-modell a Government, and totally to eclipse his Regall power, gave speedy Order to his Commissioner, the Earl of Traquair, to prorogate the Parliament untill the 2. of Fune next: which command being fignified by the Commissioner to the Parliament, they presently entred into a Declaration, wherein they positively affirmed, that this Prerogation was in-effectuall in Law. and of no force, it being made without consent of Parliament: that they might justifie their sitting still, yet out of their reverend regard to his Majesty, they were resolved for the present onely to make remonstrance to him, of the reasons of their propositions. and proceedings in this Parliament; and that if it should happen. that after their Remonstrance, their Enemies should prevaile by falle suggestions against their Informations, that then it should not be to them an imputation, that they were constrained to take such course as might best secure the Kirk and Kingdome, from the extremity of confusion and misery.

After, and as a consequent of this Declaration, they sent their Deputies the Earle of Dumfermlin, and the Lord Loudon. to present their Remonstrance. When the Commissioner came to the Court to make report of the proceedings of that Parliament. and the King appointed a select Committee of his Councel, to heare both the one and the other; many very fierce and fiery recriminations there were counter-changed between the Commissioner and Deputies. But the Deputies insisted not at all upon qualification, but direct justification of all the Assemblies and Parliaments transactions, so farre as they desired ratification of their constitutions, which the Committee thought could not be granted without lessening the Soveraign Authority, and then concluded that the Covenanters were no way reducible but by force. Thus stood matters between the King and them about the beginning of December.

The Prince

Elector his ill

(ucceffe.

And now it is high time for me to change my quarters, and for a while to visit England, and to survey the most noble parcels of occurrences there.

About the latter end of July, the Prince Elector arrived here, into whose ensuing mis-fortunes I shall introduce you by the nar-

interposition of the scot'sh troubles. The Prince, with his Brother Rupere, had the last yeare gathered together in Holland a confiderable beginning of an Army, with these they advanced into Westphalia, and sate down before Lemgea; whereof Hai? field, General of the Imperialists, having notice, came speedily upon them, enforced them both to rife, and fight, and in the encounter flew two thousand of the Palit graves party, took Prince Rupert and the Lord Craven Prisoners, the Prince Elector very narrowly escaping. The Prince thus despoyled even of his very hopes, indulged himselse for the present, a totall repose of all designes tending towards his restauration. Now it fortuning that the last moneth Duke Barnard (that Heroique Commander) dyed, the Prince of Orange advised this Prince to refort to his Unkle the King of England for his affistance, and therewith to enter upon the head of Duke Barnards Army. But the King told him his home affaires were in that doubtfull condition, as he feared they might require all the force he could command, but in regard the French Ambassador was then here, he promised to use the utmost of his interest with that King for his re-investing, and accordingly told the Ambassador, that he advised his Nephew to apply himselfe to his Master, and to joyn in League with him, and affured him what afiftance he could spare. The Ambassador seemed to be very well pleased with the offer, and perswaded his Majesty, that the Cardinal Richelieu, who was the grand directer of all the French Councels, would be glad to ferve his Majesty or his Nephem, and prefently disparcht letters of intimation to the Cardinall. But in the interim of this Treaty, in November the Prince was most unadvisedly advised to passe through France in a disguise, and so to come clandestinely to the Swedish Army: But the plot was not fo closely carried, but he was more then once discovered; for when he passed by the Kings Fleet at the Downes, he was faluted with a volly of shot, and the Ship which landed him at Boullen discharged all her Ordnance; from Boullen he went to Paris, and so to Lions, where meeting with the Gentleman who wat sent from the Ambassader, he was discovered, and he denying himselse, arrested. This the King of France took as an argument of no fair intentions towards him, and as an unhandsome act, especially in a time of Treaty, so that he was kept a great while in the

But the grand businesse of this Summer, was a terrible encounter between the two Fleets of Spain and Holland in the Downs. The relation whereof from Sir John Pennington was as followeth.

nature of a Prisoner, with a strict guard both of Horse and Fost a-

bout him.

An. Christi 1639.

Bugagement between the Spaniards and the Hollanders in the Downes

The Spanish Fleet confisting of neer seventy sail, bound and designed for Dunkirk in Flanders, with a recrute both of men and money, met with the Vice Admiral of the Holland Fleet, having in his company seventeen tall Ships, September the 7. and entred a very fierce dispute between them, untill the Hollander perceiving himself too weak, got to the wind ward, failing along with them towards Dunkirke, continually fiering their Ordnance to give warning to their Admirall, who lay before Dunkirk with the residue of the Fleet; in this encounter the Hollander had two Ships sunke: the next morning by two of the clock, the Admirall came up, and jovning with the Vice-Admirall, between Dover and Calais, they fet upon the Spaniard, and continued a very sharp fight till past noon. wherein thay had much the better, having taken two Gallions, funk another, and much shattered the rest, though they were but twenty five faile, to the Spaniards fixty and upwards, and at length forced them upon the English coast neer Dover; where they left them, and bare off for the coast of France, not willing to attempt any thing against them within the King of Englands liberties.

The Spaniards being now got, as they thought, under the lee of Englands protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad neighbours. And the Spanish Resident importuned the King, that he would keep the Hollander in subjection two tydes, that in the interim they might have the opportunity of shipping away for Spain; but the King being in amity with them both, was resolved to stand neuter, and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English Ships to transport their Soldiers to Dunkirk, the King upon complaint of the Dusch Embassador, strictly commanded that none should take in any Spaniards, nor passe beyond Graves-end without License; but the Spaniards and the Hollanders, plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the Spaniard at length somewhat out-witted his Enemy, and by a stratagem in the night coveyed away fourteen Dunkirk ships, and in them four thousand men.

In the beginning of October, the King sent the Earl of Arundel to the Admiral of Spain, Don Antonio, D' Oquendo, desiring him to retreat upon the first sair winde, because he would not they should engage within his Seas; but the winde continued Eastwardly so long (a thing not usual at that season) as the Hollanders had daily fresh supply from Zealand, so that at length their Armado was compleated to an hundred ships, wherewith they encompassed their Enemies within pistol shot for some dayes. But that which was so long an enterview of these two great Fleets, at last turned to an engagement.

For the 11. of the same moneth Van Trump the Dutch Admiral, charged the Spaniards with Canon and fire-ships so furi-

oully, as made them all cut their cables, and being fifty three in number, twenty three ran on shoare and stranded in the Downes, whereof three were burnt, two funk, and two perished on the shoare: one of these was a great Gallion the Vice-Admiral of Gallatia, Don Andrea de Caltro, and had fifty two braffe peices of Ordnance: the remainder of the twenty three deferred by the Spaniards, who went to land, were mann'd by the English to fave them form the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish thips under the command of the Admirals Don Astonio d' oquendo, and Lopus of Portugal, went to Sea, and kept in close order, untill a great fogge fell upon them, when the Dutch taking his advancage, interposed betwixt the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fogge cleared up, when the Admiral of Portugal began to flame being fired with two Holland fire ships, which D' aquendo perceiving he presently took his course towards Dunkirk, with the Admiral of that place and some few ships more; for most of the rest were taken; of these thirty, eleven were sent prisoners into Holland, three perished upon the coast of France, one neer Dover, five funk in the fight, and only ten escaped. This Narration was fent from Van Trump him felfe to Foachimi the then Dutch Agent here.

The first apparition of this Armade upon our Coast, was beheld by Countrey people as a representation of that Invincible One in 88, and that the main design of this, was like that, an Invalion. They thought the imbarquing of twenty five thousand Land-Souldiers, besides Mariners, were too many for a recrute. They thought the Admiral of Naples his refusal to shew his Commission, though required by the King, was but of ill signification; they wondered that the Town of Dunkirk, should so much dispute the reception of the four thousand which were conveyed thither, till the Cardinall Infanta sent expresse order, had those Forces been defigned for their recrute. And this perswasson is so implanted in many, as it is still very difficult to make them unbelieve it: or not knowing, or not confidering, that those Souldiers were unarmed, very few officers amongst them, and the whole Fleet to poorly accommodated for Invation, as they had not Powder enough for their own Defensive offence, so that when they lay at Anchor in the Downes, London was their chiefe Magazine, from whence they had their constant and daily fupply.

These two potent Enemies, being both friends to England, the British Seas ought by rule of State to have been an harbour of retreat to secure the weaker from the Gronger, not the scene of their hostile engagement; and had this presumptuous attempt of the Hollander met with a King, or in Times of another temper, it would not, it's like, have been so filently connived

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173

An. Christ 1639.

ar, and their victory might have cost them the losse of Englands correspondence. But Self-denyal is a Christian, not a Martial vertue. and who is able to refift the temptation of an advantage, whereby he may destroy his foe upon the nicety of exceeding his just limits? Besides the King, the Dutch well knew, was of a genius, as not querulous, so it provoked, very placable; and the disposition of his affaires, as well as of his minde, diffwaded from expostulating the matter with them.

Sir Thomas Co ventry dyeth.

About the beginning of Fanuary dyed Sir Thomas Coventry. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, a Dignity he had fifteen years enjoyed, if it be not more proper to fay, That Dignity had enjoyed him so long, this latter age affording not one of every way more apt qualifications for the place. His front and presence bespake's venerable regard, not inferiour to that of any of his Antecessors. His train and suit of followers was disposed agreeably to shun both envy and contempt; not like that of the Viscount St. Albans, or the Bishop of Lincoln, whom he fucceeded, ambitious, and vain; his Port was state, theirs oftenration. They were indeed the more knowing men, but their learning was extravagant to their Office: Of what concerned his place he knew enough, and which is the main, acted conformable to his knowledge, for in the administration of justice, he was so erect. So in corrupt, as captious malice stands mute in the blemish of his fame: a miracle, the greater when we consider that he was also a Privy Counsellour. A trust wherein he served his Master the King most faithfully, and the more faithfully, because of all those Counsels which did differve his Majesty, he was an earnest disswader, and did much dis-affect those sticklers who laboured to make the Prerogative rather tall, then great, as knowing that such men loved the King better then Charles Stewart. So that although he was a Courtier, and had for his Master a passion most intense, yet had he also alwayes of passion some reserve for the publique welfare. An argument of a free, noble, and right-principled minde. For what both Court and Countrey have alwayes held as in confistent, is in truth erroneous. And no man can be truly Loyal, who is not also a good Patriot, nor any a good Patriot, who is not truly Loyal. To this worthy Gentleman succeeded Sir Fohn Finch, formerly Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The Scot's Revolters in the state I left them, were not like to meliorate nor to goe lesse in animosity, but every day administred recent matter of discontent, and of somentation to the differences: and every event, of any confiderable affife, must be interpreted as configurating and complying with the great cause.

It fortuned that November the 19. being the Anniversary night of the Rings birth-day, a great part of the walls of the Castle of

Edenburgh

Edenburgh fell to the ground, with the Canons mounted: which An. Christi caused such a consternation, such an Alarm in the Castle, as if they had been undermined and surprized; but that was not all, for this casualty upon a time of so much remarque, could then receive no other construction from the Grammar of Superstition, then an ominous presage of the ruine of the Kings design; especially considering that at that very same night the Scotch Commissioners returned from England to Edenburgh, so that the dilapidation seemed to import an humble proftration to the idolized Covenant.

But the crafticit (I say not the wisest) of the Combination, Their repurawould not trust to such fallacious conjectures; but willing to tien hindred apprehend, and lay hold of any thing which offered its fervice to nan.ers. their enterprise, made a politique use thereof, and the King having appointed the Lord Estrick, Colonel Ruthen, and Governour of the Castle, to take order for the re-edification of what was lapfed, they refused to permit any materials to be carryed in for reparation: which so incensed the King, as he concluded the indignity intolerable, and presently entred into deliberation how to relieve himself by force under this oppression; but with whom he should consult, there lay the difficulty, the transactions of his Councel must be more closely carryed then heretofore, for fear of correspondency with the Covenanters; to this end a privace Functo for the Scot /h affaires, are selected from his Councel, and great care taken, that those hunting Lords (as the Archbishop called them) Pembroke, Salisbury, Holland, &c. who were Commissioners at the Pacification, be excluded, though Hammilton was retained, more dangerous, and fallacious then all. At this close and secret Councel, Decemb. 5. it was agreed his Majesty should call a Parliament, to affemble April the 13. The King told them he exceeding well approved of that Councel, but withall he faid. My Lords, the Parliament cannot suddenly convene, and the subsidies they grant will be so long in levying, as in the interim I may be ruin'd; therefore some speedy course must be thought upon for supplies. Whereupon the Lords told him they would engage their own credits, and the Lord Deputy of Ireland giving the onfer, subscribed for twenty thousand pounds; the other Lords had, some the same loyal zeal, and others the modesty not to refuse. The Lords of the Councel did in this example implicitely give a law to the other Nobles, who generally conformed most cheerfully, saving some few whom singularity, or somewhat more portentous, restrained. Nor staid the project there, but every man must be in the mode. All the Judges, both of the Common and Civil Law, with all the Officers and appendants of their Courts, were fent for, not to lend, as they were spontaneously inclined, but to contribute what others had affessed them. But the greatest non Recusants, were Aa 3

Edenbureh Ca Rie-wals fall down,

An. Christi 1639.

Commiffice.

ners fent to the

King from the Covenanters.

the Recufants, who did strive with the forwardest, as ambitious to be reputed the Kings most loyal Subjects, and some Preachers were so bold, and withall so indiscreet, to style them so, the truth is, the Queen who could not be but equally concern'd in the Kings inverest, finding they both now had all at stake, bestir'd herselfe as eagerly with those her corresepondents in religious per-Swasion, and imployed Sir Kenelm Digby and Mr. Mountaque to

negociate with the Romish Catholiques for a contribution, who

yeilded it in a proportion agreeable to their abilities. The King thus busic in providing against the Scots, (who

began now to be bruited all over England for Rebels) they were as industrious to form their deportment in so supple a posture, as might de marque and deface all tokens of so horrid an imputation. They reforted to the King, humbly craving leave to represent the state of all their transactions to his Majesty; the King faid, he was accostable by any subject he had, and sure he would not deny that cangeable accesse to a whole Kingdom, which he was ready to yeeld to any private man: therefore bad them come with confidence of impartial hearing. This answer being returned, the Covenanters sent up their Commissioners, the Earl of Dumfermlin, the Lord Loudon, Sir William Donglas, and Mr. Bark. ly; these being admitted, and their Commission examined, it was evident, that the two last were not named in, nor impowred by it, and that the other two were onely authorized to affert the integrity of their actions, without making any reall demonstration thereof, and had not the least order to propound such things as might accommodate the differences, or give the King any fatisfaction at all. Yet the King was willing to allow them all the faire respect he in honour could, hoping to gain upon them by the sweetnesse of his carriage, but all would not doe: for at that very moment of their addresses to him in the specious mode of suppliants, their actions spake very articulate, very expresse, somewhat of a quite other fignification. For many of the prime Nobility and Gentry of that Nation, who stood firm in their inclinations to the King, they secured, that is, imprisoned: They invited and procured to their service many Commanders from Holland, who still kept their places there, though such Officers as betook themselves to the Kings employment were instantly casheired; they reared works of Fortification in all places agreeable to their designes. But

the daring paramount, and above all others, was their imploring aid from the French King in a particular addresse to him as fol-

loweth,

SIR.

An. Christi 1639.

Your Majetty being the refuge and Sanctuary of af- Their letter to flicted Princes and States, we have found it necessary France, to fend this Gentleman Mr. CCLV 1L, to represent to your Majesty the Candor and Ingenuity, as well of our Actions and Proceedings, as of our Intentions, which we desire to be engraved and written to the whole World, with the beam of the Sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore most humbly beseeh you, Sir, to give faith and credit to him, and all that he shall say on our part. touching us, and our affairs, being most assured, Sir, of an affistance equall to your wonted clemency heretofore. and so often shew'd to this Nation, which will not yeeld the glory to any other whatfoever to be eternally

SIR.

Your Majesties most humble, most obedient. and most affectionate servants,

> Rothes, Montrose, Lesly, Marr, Mongomery, Lowdon, Forrester.

Though this was a Conclave secret; communicated to a very few, and kept under a most strict guard, yet did it at length evade from that close captivity, and was by some false Brother discovered to the King. His Majesty having had consultation with those about him concerning the character, it was at length affured him, that it must be the cheirography of the Lord London, whereupon he was committed to the Tower, and kept there in close confinement.

Though the Presbyterian party stand charged in vulgar account as the principal and most notorious authors of these troubles, yet were they not the only men in the conspiracy, nor must it be thought but others were (though invisibly) accessary fomenters of them: For in case of general disturbance, nothing is more familiar then for several Factions, of several, and sometimes of contrary inclinations and interests, to protrude and drive on one and the same design, to severall intents and purposes. And a foul blemish it would have been to these Mercurialists, to the Society of Fesus, should they have fate out in a work so proper to their imployment (the incitation of Kingdoms and States to turbulent commotions) as these Scotsh

SIR.

An. Christi 1639.

A Plot of the

Papies difco-

vered against

the King and Arch-bishop.

An. Christi broyls. No, (good men) they slept not all this while, but were as diligent in their machinations as possibly they could be, the externall glory of the enterprise their ambition did not reach, but they willingly rendred it up to the Presbyters: hoping in the interim to be the greatest gainers in the product and fruits of their labours.

> How far they were of combination in this plot, though in a more fubrile, secret and scarce discovered way, (their usuall mode) the ensuing Narrative shall set forth; which I insert, not upon the account of Mr. Prynns faith, who first made it extant, but because I am further affured of the truth of it, by a more credible person. and one of principall relation to Sir William Boswell; and because it may serve to illustrate some former passages of this History.

> The first discoverer of this Plot was one Andreas ab Habernfield. a Nobleman of Bobemia, and Physitian to the Lady Elizabeth, the Palizgraves relict. This Gentleman by a Confident of his, first made it known to Sir William Boswell, and by his meanes addrest himselfe to the Archbishop of Canterbury as followeth:

## Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,

We have willingly and cordially perceived that our offers have been acceptable both to his Royal Majesty, and likewise to your Grace. This is the only index to us, that the bleffing of God goeth along with you, whereby we are the more extimulated, chearfully and freely to declare and discover those things, whereby the hazard of both your lives, the subversion of the Realmes both of England and Scotland, the tumbling down of his Excellent Majesty from his Throne is projected. Now lest the discourse should be enlarged with superflous circumstances, we will onely premise some things which are meerly necessary to the matter.

First, be it known to them, that this good man, the Informer of the ensuing discoveries, was born and bred in the Pontificial Religion, and spent many yeares in Ecclesiasticall Functions. At length being judged a sit person for carrying on the present designe, by the advice and command of the Lord Cardinall Barbarino, he was made co-agutor to con, (the then Popes Nuncio) to whom he appeared so diligent, and sedulous in his

office, that hope of great preferment was given to him; But he, guided by a better inspiration, was not won by those sugar baits, and conscious to himselfe of the vanities of that Religion, (whereof he he had sometimes been a strenuous Defender) having also observed the malice of the Romish party, found his Conscience much oppressed; for ease whereof he reforted in his beliefe to the Orthodox Religion. And thought it his best way to reveale a plot, tending to the destruction of so many innocent soules. conceiving his minde would better repose, should he vent what he knew into the bosome of some confiding friend. This done, he was feriously admonished by that friend, to give manifest tokens of his Conversion, and to deliver from imminent danger so many innocent soules. To this counsell he willingly configned himselfe, and delivered the subsequent matters to writing, whereby the Articles lately presented to your Grace may be clearly explicated and demonstrated.

1. That the maine of the businesse may be known. it is to be considered, that all these sactions which this day make Christianity reel, have their rise from the Jefuiticall off-spring of Cham, which branch it self into four Orders.

The first are Ecclesiasticks; these take into care the promotions of Religious affairs.

The second are Politicians: their office is to take care for the raising of civil combustions in, and reforming of Kingdomes.

The third are Seculars, who are properly defigned for to intrude into Offices of neer relation to the persons of Princes, to infinuate themselves into Civil affaires of the Court, as Bargaines, and

The fourth are men of a lower orb, Intelligencers, and Spies: then to creep into the services of eminent persons,

1639.

An. Christi persons, Princes, Harls, Barons, or the like, and endeayour to pervert or cheat them.

A Society of so many Orders the Kingdome of England nourisheth; for scarce all Spain, France, and Italy, can yeeld so great a multitude of Jesuites as London alone, where are found more then fifty Scotch Jesuites; there the faid Society hath elected for it selfe a seate of iniquity, and hath conspired against the King and his greatest Considents, especially against the Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and likewise against both Kingdomes.

For it is most certaine that the said Society hath refolved upon an Universall Reformation in the Kingdomes of Fingland and Scotland. And the determination of the end, necessarily inferreth a determination of the meanes.

For promotion therefore of the undertaken villany, this Society is dubbed with the title of The Congregation for the propagation of the Faith, which acknowledgeth the Pope of Rome for their Principall, and Cardinall Barbarino for his Substitute and De-

The chiefe patron of this Society is the Popes Legate, who hath speciall care of the businesse; into his bosome this rabble of Traitors weekly deposite their Intelligences. The Residence of this Legation was obtained at London in the name of the Pope, by whose mediation it might be lawfull for Cardinall Barbarino to worke so much the more easily and safely upon the King and Kingdome. For none could fo eafily circumvent the King as he, who should be palliated with the Popes Authority.

Seignior Con was at that time the Popes Legate, the Universall Minister of that conjured Society, and a vehement promoter of the plot, whose secrets, as likewise those of all other intelligencers, the present

Informer of all these things, did receive and dispatch as the businesse required.

Con tampered with the chiefe men of the Kingdom. and left nothing unattempted by which he might corrupt them all, and incline them to the Romish party; he inticed with many various baits, the very King himself, he fought to delude with gifts of Pictures, Antiquities, Idols, and such like trumperies, brought from Rome,

which yet prevailed nothing with the King.

Thus familiarly entertained by the King oft at Hampton-Court, and at London, he was entreated to undertake the cause of the Prince Palatine, that he would interpose his authority, and by intercession perswade the Legate of Colen, that the Palatine (in the next Diet for the treating about Peace) might be inserted into the conditions; which he promised, but performed the contrary. He in. timated indeed, that he had been folicited by the King to such an effect, but did not advise any such consent, lest peradventure the Spaniard should fay that the Pope of Rome did patronize an hereticall Prince.

In the interim Con, smelling from the Archbishop, (the Kings most Consident) that the Kings minde was altogether pendulous, and doubtfull, refolved to move every stone, and bend all his strength to gaine him to his fide; being confident he had prepared the meanes. For he had a command to make offer of a Cardinalls Cap to the Lord Archbishop in the name of the Pope of Rome, and that he should allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his fincere minde. Yet a fitting occasion was never offered whereby he might insinuate himselfe into the Lord Arch-Bishop, to whom free accesse was to be impetrated by the Earl and Countesse of Arundel, as also by Secretary Windebank, all whose intercessions he neglected,

Bb 2

This Cardinal was Nephew and Vice-Chancellor to Pope Urban the eighth.

An. Christi and did shun (as it were the Plague) the company or familiarity of Con. He was also solicited by others of no mean rank, well known to him, and yet he continued immoveable.

> Triall also was made of another, Secretary Cook who impeded accesse to the detestable designe; an utter enemy he was to the Jesuites, whose accesse to the King he obstructed. He treated many of them as they deserved, he searcht into their factions, by which meanes every incitement breathing an attractive power to the Romish Catholiques, was ineffectuall with him; for nothing was so deare to him as his owne innocence: whence being rendred odious to the conspirators, he was in perpetuall hazard of losing his Place, which being laboured for three years, was at length obtained.

> But for all this the King had left him a knotty peece, for the Lord Arch-bishop by his constancy, opposed himselfe as an immoveable rock.

> Con and his party finding the Lord Arch-bishop so impregnable, and that they laboured in vaine, began to boyl with malice, and to plot how the Lord Arch-bishop, together with the King should be taken.

> Sentence also is passed against the King (who was the main concernment in the Plot) because nothing is hoped from him which might seem to promote the Popish Religion, but especially when he had once declared himselfe that he was of the minde, that any good and pious man may be faved in his own Religion.

> To act the Treason undertaken, the criminall execution at Westminster, caused by some Puritanicall writing, gave the first spark; a thing so much exasperated, and exaggerated by the Papists and Puritans, that if it went unrevenged, it would be thought a blemish to their Religion, the sames of which fire, the subsequent Liturgie encreased.

> In this heat a certain Scottish Earl, one MAXVVEL, if I mistake not, was dispatche to the Scots by the Popish

party, with whom two other Scottish Earles were corre- An. Christi spondents, he was to excite the people to commotion: He was to raise commotions to re-inforce the sense of every injury, and to spur on the people to Rebellion. whereby the great disturber of the Scotch liberty might be destroy'd.

This Maxwell, Anno 1624. Went to Rome to receive the Popes Benediction Extraordinary, and other graces; which the Councel of Scotland hearing of, they fet out a Ban or Profeription against him, for departing the Kingdome without leave. But upon King Fames his death, he came for England, and by the Dukes meanes (whose kindswoman he had married) was not onely pardoned, but favoured to so high a degree, as occasioned a very high contest between the Councell of Scotland and him in the very Kings presence, Anno 1627.

There by one labour, snares are laid for the King, for which purpose the affaire was so ordered, that very many English should adhere to the Scots. That the King should be inferiour to them in Armes, whereby he might be inforced to crave aide from the Papists, which yet should be denyed him, unlesse he would descend to conditions, by which he should permit a generall toleration of the Romish Religion, which was the thing the Papists did aime at. And should he be difcultly brought to such termes, there was a remedy hoped for-

For the young Prince (who from his Cradle was educated in advantage to the Romish perswasion) growing on fast in his youthful age, the Kings death was contrived by an Indian Nut, stuffed with a most fierce poison, kept in the Society, (which Con then shewed me in a boasting manner) and prepared for him, as there was another for his Father.

During the Scotch troubles, the Marquesse of Hamilton was often imployed by the King as Commissioner to compose disorders there, and pacifie the discontented party, but returned as often without fruit. His Chaplain repaired at that time to us, and had secret conference with. Bb 3

The Reign of King Charles.

182

An. Christi with Con, of whom I demanded in jest, "Whether also "the Tews agreed with the Samaritans; To which Con answered, "I would to God all Ministers were like him. you may conjecture of this as you please.

> Things standing thus, there came to London from Cardinal Richelieu, Mr. Thomas Chamberlain his Chaplain and Almoner, a Scot by Nation, who was to assist the Colledge of confederacy to advance the businesse, and to attempt all wayes of exasperating the first heat: for this service a Bishoprick was promised him. Four moneths space he co-habited with the Society, nor was he permitred to depart, untill matters succeeding as he wished, he

might return with good newes.

Sir Toby Matthew a Tesuited Priest of the Order of Politicians, the most vigilant of the chiefe heads, (who never went to bed, but got a nap of an houre or two in a chair) day and night plotted mischiese. A man principally noxious, and the very Plague both of King and Kingdom, a man most impudent, hunting all feasts, called or not called, never quiet, alwayes in action and perpetuall motion. Intruding into the company of all his betters, pressing discourses wherby to fish out mens inclinations; whatsoever he sucketh from thence either of advantage, or noxious to the conspiracy, he imparteth to the Popes Legate, referving the most secret intelligence for the Pope himselfe, or the Cardinal Barbarino. In short, he associates himself with any, not a word can be spoken but he layes hold of it, and accommodates it to his turn. In the interimall his observations he reduceth into a Catalogue, and every Summer carrieth it to the general Confistory of the Jesuites Politiques, which privately meet in the Province of Wales, where he is a welcome guest. There are Councels closely hammered, which are fittest for the ruining of the Ecclesiastique and Politique state of both Kingdomes.

Captain Read a Scot, dwelling in Long-Acre street neer the Angel Tavern, a Secular Ieluite, who for his detelta-

ble service performed (in perverting of a certain Minister An. Christi of the Church, with secret inticements to the Popish Religion, with all his Family, taking his daughter to wife) obtained as a reward, an impost upon butter paid by the Countrey people, procured for him from the King by some chiefe men of the Society, who never want a spur whereby he may be constantly detained in his Office. In his house the whole plot is contrived, where the Society which hath conspired against the King, the Lord Arch-bishop and both Kingdomes convene: but on the day of the Posts dispatch, they meet in greater numbers; for then all their informers assemble, and confer their notes together; and that they may be the lesse suspected. convey all their secrets by Toby Mathew, or Read himselfe to the Popes Legate, who transmits the pacquet of Intelligence to Rome.

With the same Read are entrusted the Letters brought from Rome, under forged titles and names, and by him delivered to whom they belong; for all their

names are known to him.

Upon the same occasion Letters are also brought over under the covert of Father Philip (though he be ignorant of the plot) who distributesh them to the Conspirators.

In that very house there is a publique Chappel, wherein an Ordinary Jesuite consecrates, and dwelleth. In this Chappell Masses are daily said by the Jesuites, and the children of some of the Domestiques, and some conspirators are baptized.

They who meet there come often in Coaches, or a horseback in Lay-mens habit, and with a great train, wherewith they are disguised from notice, yet are Jesuites

and Members of the Conspiracy.

All the Papists of England contribute to this Assembly, left any thing should be wanting to promote the enterprise, upon whose treasury a Widow, owner of the Houses where now secretary Windebank dwelleth, and dead ar bove three yeares fince, conferred forty thousand pounds,

185

1639.

1639.

An. Christi and for the driving on of the businesse, others contribute as they are able.

Besides the foresaid houses, there are also other close Conventicles kept, but very distrustfull of themselves. lest they should be discovered. First every of them (one not knowing of the other) are directed to certaine Inns. and thence led by spies to the place of meeting, being otherwise ignorant of the place for fear of surprise.

The Countesse of Arundel, a strenuous she-Champion of the Romish Faith, bends all her powers for this Univerfall Reformation, nothing is done secretly, or openly at Court, but she imparts it to the Legate, with whom The meets thrice a day, sometimes at Arundel house, now at Court, or at Tart-Hall.

The Earl himselfe being called about three yeares since, this year must goe to Rome, without doubt to confult there of matters pertinent to the designe.

At Greenwich, at the Earles cost, a seminine School is erected, which is but a Monastery of Nuns. for the young Girles therein are sent forth, hither, and thither, into forrain Monasteries beyond the Seas.

Master Porter of the Kings Bed-chamber, most addicted to the Popish Religion, is an utter enemy of the Kings, revealing all the secrets to the Legate by his wife; for he rarely meets with him himselfe. In all his actions he is nothing inferiour to Toby Matthew, it is unexpressible how diligently he intends this businesse.

His Sons are secretly principled in the Romish beliefe, but open professors of the Reformed: the eldest is now to receive his Fathers place under the future King: A Cardinalls hat is provided for the other, if the plot takes.

Three years fince Mr. Porter was to be sent away by the King to Morocco: But was prohibited by the Society, lest the businesse should suffer delay.

He is a Patron of the Issuites, providing Chappels for them to exercise their Religion in, both at home and abroad.

Secre-

nesse.

Secretary Windebank a fierce Papist, is the greatest Trai- An. Christi tor to the King of all. He not onely revealeth the Kings greatest secrets, but also communicates counsells by which the designe may be best advanced. He at least thrice every week converseth with the Legate in the Nocturnall Conventicles, and revealeth what is fit to be known: to which end he hireth a house neer to the Popes Legate, to whom he often reforts through the Garden door; for by this vicinity the meeting is facilitated. He is bribed with gifts to be a partner in the Conspiracy, by whom he is sustained, that he may most seduloufly attend his charge; his Son is fent expresly to Rome, on purpose to infinuate himself into his Holi-

Digby and winter, Knights, Mr. Montague, who hath been at Rome, the Liord Sterlin, a kinfman of the Earle of Arundel, a Knight, the Countesse of Nevv-port, the Dutchesse of Buckingham, and many others, who have sworn to this Conspiracy are all most vigilant in the plot: Some are enticed with hope of Court, others of Political Offices, others attend to the fixteen Cardinalls caps vacant, which are detained so, to feed with vain hopes those who expect them.

The President of the said Society, was the Lord Cage, a Jesuited Priest, dead some three years since. He had a Palace adorned with wanton pictures, as pretending to prophanenesse, but palliating thereby a Monastery, wherein forty Nuns were maintained, concealed in so spacious a Palace. It is situated in Queens street. The Jefuites have bought all this street, and have reduced it to a quadrangle, where a Jesuiticall Colledge is tacitely built, with this hope that it might be openly finishe as soon as the Generall Reformation was accomplished.

The Popes Legate useth a threefold Character, one common to all Nuncio's Another peculiar to himself and Cardinall Barbarino. A third wherewith he covers forme greater secrets to be imparted. What wever things he recei-

This Porter bad formerly in his youth ferved in the

Conde.

An. Christi

veth from the Society, or spies, he packeth up in one bundle, with this addresse, To Monsieur Stravio Archdeacon of Cambrai: from whom they are sent to Rome.

These particulars considered it will be evident to all.

1. That the Conspiracy against the King and Lord Arch-bishop is detected, and the means threatning raine to them both is demonstrated.

2. The imminent danger to both Kingdomes is declared.

3. The rife and progresse of the Scotch fire is related.

4. Meanes are suggested whereby their troubles may be appealed; for after the Scots shall see by whom, and to what intents their spirits are provoked, they will speedily look to themselves, neither will they suffer the Forces of both Kingdomes to be subdued, lest a middle party interpose, which seek the ruine of both.

5. With what Sword the Kings Throat is affaulted even when these stirs shall de ended, Cons confession and visible demonstration sheweth.

6. The place of Assembly in Captain Reads house is named.

7. The eight dayes dispatch by Read, and the Legate is described.

8. How the names of the Conspirators may be known.

9. Where this whole Congregation may be circumvented.

10. Some of the principall unfaithful ones of the Kings party, are notified by name; and many, whose names occur not yet, their habitations being known, their names may be easily extorted from Read.

If these things be warily proceeded in, the strength of the whole businesse will be brought to light, so the arrow being foreseen, the danger shall be avoided, which that it may prosperously succeed, the Almighty Creator grant.

They

They who will diligently compare this Information with what hath conformably occurred in the preceding part of these Annals. and shall withall well consider the practices both ancient and modern of these pragmaticall spirits, will find cause enough to think there was in it somewhat more then fiction, and that it may make some impression upon faith, without setting it upon the rack. Only one objection I shall rid out of the way which may seem to discredit the truth thereof. And it is thise

An. Christi 1639. An objection aniwered relating to the discovery.

The Archbishop of Canterbury stands aspersed in common same. as a great friend at least, and Patron of the Romish Catholiques. if he were not of the same belief. And it were a policy mis-becoming (nch subtle Serpents, causelessy to plot the death of their so eminent well wisher. To which I answer, by concession; True it is, he had too much and long favoured the Romish Faction, but as upon what account it was he favoured them is uncertain, so was it but the Romish Faction, not the Romish Faith he favoured. He tampered indeed to introduce some ceremonies bordering upon superstition, disused by us, and abused by them: from whence the Romanists collected such a disposition in him to their Tenets, as they began, not only to hope, but in good earnest to cry him up for their Proselyte. Upon this hypothesis, this supposition, they grew excessive proud and infolent, as well they might (knowing how grand a Confident and Trustee he was of the Kings ) had not their perswasion in sled them; But the Archbishop finding that his tacite reservednesse in point of opinion, and former compliance with the Papifts, was no longer expedient for his defignes, and d d begin to crease ill-boading jealousies in another party, resolved to speak out, and unbeguile them both. And first in the year 1637, openly at the Councel Table, he passionately complained to the King of their audacious refort to Denmark house, using some expressions of vehemency more particularly against the haughty deportment of Master Walter Mountague, and Sir Toby Matthew. But that which most despighted them, was his publishing the next year the Relation of his conference with the Fesuite Fither, wherein he declared himself so little theirs, as he hath for ever dis-abled them from being so much their own as they were before; it being the exactest, the master-piece of Polemique Divinity of all extant. Pity it is his thoughts which were in other affaires a thought too high, had so fatall a diversion from his studies. But what one is excellent in every thing? Now the Archbishop thus professedly owning the Protestant cause, and having so potent an influence upon the King, it was no wonder if he became as formidable to the Romanists, as ubi Hannibal Hanniball was to the Romans; (and where Hannibal was, there his eft, ibi caput enemies judged the life and foul of the Carthaginian strength to Billi.Liv. refide) and by consequence his destruction the main concernment of their interest.

An, Christi 1640. The Parliament affembled.

April the 13. the Parliament fate according to pre-appointment. when the Earl of Strafferd was led into the upper House by two Noble-men to give them account what feats he had wrought in Ireland, having there obtained the grant of four Subfidies for the maintenance of ten thousand Foot, and fisteen hundred Horse: implicitely hinting agreeable to what scheme England should proportion their supplyes. Some few dayes after a report was made to the Lords, by the Lord Cottington (who with Secretary Windebank and the Atturney Generall were fent by the King to the Lord London to examine him, concerning the Letter before mentioned) that the Lord did acknowledge the hand-writing to be his, that it was framed before the Pacification at Barmick, and was never fent to that King, but only prepared in a readinesse, should need require, and that it was supprest upon that Pacification; neverthelesse it was thought fit he should continue in the same state untill clearer evidence should be given, either for, or against him.

Soon after the King sent a message to the lower house about supplies representing to them the intolerable indignities and injuries wherewith the Scoss had treated him, and withall declared to them, that if they would affift him futable to the exigency of his fad occasion, he would for ever quit his claime of Ship-mony, and into the bargain give them full content in all their just demands. But they reply'd, they expected first security from his Majesty in these three particulars; First, for clearing the Subjects property; Secondly, for establishment of Religion; Thirdly, for the priviledge of Parliament. Many conferences there were had between the Lords and Commons about this old contest, which should precede, the Kings supply, or the Subjects grievances. The Lords after a strong division among themselves at length voted for the King, and the Commons for the Subjects. But it was not long before this unhappy difference was most unhappily decided. For Secretary Vane who was imploy'd to declare the particulars of the Kings defires, required twelve Subfidies, whereas twas faid, his expresse order was for only fix. Some there are suspect this mistake to have been not involuntary, but industrious in him; but leaving that indetermined, the House of Commons was raised by this Proposition to such animofity, as the King advising with his Juncto, their compliance was represented to him so desperate, as May the 5. he ordered the Diffolution of the Parliament.

Thus expired this short-lived, or rather thus ended this stil-born Parliament; a Parliament I know not whether more unfortunate, in beginning so late, or ending so soon. A Parliament which had Power, and probably Will enough to impede the corrent of the late civill War: for the breaches between the King and People were grown so high, as one might already discern all the lineaments of an insurrection in Embryo, but the head, whose Abortion nothing

could cause but an happy union in Parliament, a thing not very An. Christi difficult, much lesse impossible at this time. Had the King yielded to a detrenching some luxuriances of his Prerogative, to the reducing Episcopacy to its primitive institution, that is, to the frame by Divine Right (a root which had not sap enough to maintain so foreading and flourishing a top as was contended for) to a more frequent and fociable communication of Counfels with the grand Representative; in short, to such fluent and spontaneous concessions. as being resolved upon too late, were (in reference to his personal) fafety) lost and thrown away in the ensuing Parliament; in all likelihood he had much quieted the distempers of his subjects, much calm'd heir animofities; why not totally gained their affections? and in order to all this his Majesty had now already modelled all his passions, all his inclinations. And as the King was disposed rowards this bleffed conjunction, so was there not so intense an opposition to the Kings satisfaction in the mind of the generality of the members of this Parliament, as was like to obstruct it. So that to counsel the diffolution of an Assembly so importing to the Kings and Kingdoms welfare must be the advice of men who understood not so well as they meant, whereof many laid the blame upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, a learned, plous, and morally a good man, but too full of fire. As affaires of the Church then stood, Bishops might in reference to Ecclesiastical concernments be serviceable affessors in Privy Councel, but in civil matters perhaps it had been better, had they been leffe active, according to the example of this Archbishops predecessor, Archbishop Whitgift, who being a Privy Counfellor, it was his constant mode to attend the Table early in the morning, and after the usuall apprecation of a good-morrow to the Lords, he alwayes requested to know if there were any Church businesse to be debated that forenoon; if the anfwer returned was, yea, he stayed; if negative, he craved leave to be dispensed withall, saying, Then my Lords there's no need of me, and so departed. A most laudable and prudentiall practife.

This convention was not more unhappily dissolved then another was continued, that is, as a witty Gentleman (aid well, A new Synod made of an old Convocation, which by new Commission from the King, were impowred to fit still; the impulsives to it are easily col-

leaed from what resulted from it. The Scotish fires had already in that Kingdome consumed and The Convocaburnt up to nothing Episcopacy both root and branch, and just cause there was to fear the like proceedings here in England, where many began not only to fit upon the Bishops skirts, that is, to controvert the mores and bounds of their authority, but to claim a co-parcenery, and equall share in the main possession, afferting, in good earnest, that though the Bishops had long Lorded over them through temporal indulgence, yet in the facred Dialect they were as good men

191

An. Christi

as themselves, Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture phrase being of equivalent import, and denoted the self same persons, without the least distinction, they whom Holy Text calls Bishops, having an Identity, a same-nesse of Name, of Ordinarion, of Office, of all qualifications necessary to that office, with Presbyters. The Prelates finding their dear Palladium so deeply concerned, and heaved at. were as eager to conserve it, the Presse swarmed with Books setting forth the Right upon which Episcopacy was founded, but all advantaged them little, for such a prejudice there was against them, and the Truth contended for lay then so deep, as few had perspicacity enough to discern it, so it did them little service, therefore the Bithe ps obterving these levelling principles growing into such request took measure from their profest adversaries the generall Assembly of scotland, with whomsthey so interfered. For as that Assembly having formed a Covenant for the destruction of Episcopacy, severely urged subscription to it: so did this Synod for the support of their Hierarchy frame as an Anti covenant this Oath following :

They impose a new Oath.

I A.B. doe swear, That I doe approve the Doctrine and Discipline of Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I will not endeavour by my felfe or any other, directly or indirectly, to being in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that which is fo established. Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this (hurch, by A ch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Arch-Deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usur= pations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I doe plainly and fincerely acknowledge and wear according to the plaine and common sense and under standing of the fime words, without any equivocation or mentall evasion, or secret refervation what oever. And this I doe heartily, willingly, and truly upon the Faith of a Christian. So help me God in fe-Jus Chrift.

Many things were exceedingly blamed in the contrivance of this

First, that seeing a clear notion of the thing sworn to (which the Prophet Feremy comprehendeth under the word Judgement; is a necessary qualification to the legality of an Oath, this [ &c. ] was of so mysterious import, as the very Impoters, much lesse the Jurours, were not able to decypher what it meant.

Secondly,

Secondly, fome things were expressely to be sworn to, which were never thought to have any shew or colour of sacred Right. but were conceived arbitrary, and at the disposition of the States and to exact an Oath of diffent from civil establishments in such things of indifferency, was an affront to the very fundamentals of Government.

Lastly, because the Juror therein declared he sware willingly, to which he was constrained under the highest penalties, that is, as that noble Lord faid, Under the lose of both Heaven and Earth, of Heaven, by excommunication; and of Earth, by deprivation.

Again, they ran parallel with the Covenanters in another constitution, for as the Scots condemned the Arminian teness without defining what those Tenets were, which King Charles noted as a strange proceeding in them, so did these the Sociaians not declaring wherein they were culpable.

There was also framed by this Synod a Canon wherein the fituation of the Communion Table should be at the East end severed with Railes to preserve it from profanation, and for permitting the practice or omission of bowing towards the East as men were perswaded within themselves, concerning the lawfulnesse and decency thereof.

And that his Majesties ratification of these Rules might as well Great Benevobe thought an act of gratitude as grace, they granted him a most King. ample Benevolence of four shillings in the pound affest upon all the Clergy for fix years towards his expedition against the scots, which was beheld as an act of very high prefumption and an usurpation upon the preeminence of Parliament; no Convocation having power to grant any Subfidies, or aid without confirmation from the Lay- Senate.

This Synod ended May the 29. and the first offender who became obnoxious to the animadversion of their new Law, was one of its late members, Godfrey Goodman Bishop of Glocester, who refused subscription to the Canons, and was thereupon suspended. This Bishop had been long suspected as addicted to the Romish belief.

The Scots having sped so well in their adventures against Soveraignty, England began now to be bewitched with their Principles, and to learn their Discipline of daring. Liberty is so sweet as few are of a temper too sober not to attempt it, especially when successe hath opened the advenues of archievement, and rendered it seemingly attainable. Nor did we derive from them only the rudiments, but the method also of revolt. Our first probationary tumult commencing in a rude affault upon this Archbishop, as theirs upon the Archbishop of Saint Andrews. Specious pretences they wanted not to honest, to justifie the enterprize. That Parliament from which the whole Kingdome expected a Reformation of all enormities

An. Christi 1640.

An. Christi 1619.  $\sim\sim$ 

The Archbifliors Palace belet by prentices.

enormities both in Church and Common-wealth, a totall diffination of all foggie jealousies between the King and People, an accommodation of all differences between England and Scotland; that Parliament had an immature, miserable, deplorable dissolution: and who bare the odium of that unfortunate advice comparably to Canterbury? Upon this score a Paper was posted upon the old Exchange. May the 9. Exherting Prentices to rife and fack his House at Lambeth the Munday following; whereof the Archbishop having notice, prepared for his defence; and it was well he did so, for the Munday following, in the dead of night, about five hundred befet his Palace, and made many attempts to force an entrance, but all in vain, such provision had the Archbishop made for his security : but though he escaped the violence of their hands, yet did he not the virulence of their tongues, which did most impetuously rage against him, now with menaces, now with imprecations. The next day many of these riotous delinquents upon narrow inquiry were apprehended, and imprisoned in the White Lyon, but within three dayes after some of their either complices, or adherents came in the day time, brake open the Prison, and enlarged them. Neverthelesse one of their Captains was re-taken, condemned at Southwarke, and May the 21. for example fake, hanged and quar-

The Parliament being blown away without affording any thing in nature of supply to the Kings wants, all the wheeles of the Prerogative are put into motion to carry on the War: First, the City of London were invited to a Loan, then all Knights and Gentlemen who held Lands in Capite of the King were summoned to fend men, horses, and Armes agreeable to their abilities.

The City was fullen, would not give down their milk, and pleaded want of Trade and poverty: a very poor plea as her condition then stood, for how could want flow in upon a Nation from a Peace of forty years duration? And where Kingdomes thrive, the Mother Cities, which usually grasp and gripe all they can from the body, will be fure to fecure themselves against necessity. No, the was luxuriant in wealth never more, and pampered with eafe, fo as her high repletion brought her into an ill habit of body, this set her on longing and lusting after Arange Gods. She began now to be disciplined by Presbyterian emissaries, and resolved to fashion her self to the Scot'sh designes. Again, the Prerogative had lately, as the thought, treated her fomewhat roughly. Her Plantation of London- Derry in Ireland, was for some alleadged misdemeanours, not long before questioned in the Star-chamber, and there declared forfeited to the King, and fines imposed upon the Planters; This was of no pleafing re-sentment, and operated not a little towards their denvall.

But the Gentry for the generality exhibited inclinations more prompt,

prompt, and afforded their help to relieve the King. By this and other fore mentioned aids the Royal Army began to Rendevous, whereof the Earl of Northumberland was appointed Generalistimo, and the Earl of Strafford Lieutenant General, but the first fell presently into a great sicknesse, so as his conduct was dispensed withall, and the second was not of so perfect health as to undertake the chief command; whereby, the King resolved to assume it himself, and having staid the Queens safe delivery of her son Henry in July, August the 20. he set forward towards the North, his Army The King gots having preceded him many dayes before, being informed that the against the Scots were entred England; but he made not such hast thither, but before he could come to see it verified, he heard it in the sad effects | The Sauten thereof. For having reached as far as Northallerton towards New castle, he was welcomed thither by the Lord Conway with the unwelcome news of a great defeat, his Army had received that day being Aug. 28. at Newburn upon Tine, the substance of which action was as followeth:

had drawn all his Cavallery, being about twelve hundred Horse, burn. and about three thousand Foot, to secure the passe upon the River of Tine neer Newburn, the Foot he had lodged behinde a breastwork, thereby to infest the Enemy in their passage. That night Lord Generall Lesty came to the other side of the River, and before morning had planted nine pieces of Ordnance, having blinded them with bushes from the English observation. The next morning he fent to the Lord Conway, desiring his leave to passe towards his Majesty with their Petition; the Lord answered that he would permit a few, but not an Army to passe; whereupon Lesty commanded three hundred Horse to advance into the River, whom the Musqueteers from behind the Brest-works so galled, as they were enforced to retire, which Lefly perceived, playing upon that blinde with his Canon so furiously, as made them abandon | The English their post, cast away their Armes and fly: then the Scorib Cavallery re-advanced, who were gallantly charged by Mr. Wilmot Commiffary General of the Horse, but they were so annoyed with the Scot'sh Canon, and withall so over-numbred, all the burden of the encounter being born by the Gentlemen, as they were compelled to retire in disorder. In this hostile aggression the English received far the greater losse, three hundred being flain and taken. The Lord Conway perceiving the Cavallery thus routed, and the Infantry run all away, hafted his retreat to the King, and for the same reason Sir Jacob

An. Christi 1640.

ter England.

August the 27. the Lord Conway then Commander in chief, The engage-

Astley then Governour of New-castle, deserted it, having New-castle de

first sunk the Ordnance in the River, being well affured it

was not tenable, as having nothing in it tending to Fortifi-

cation.

195

1640.

An. Christi 1640.

The English Army retreating now from New-castle, was taken into the command of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who brought up the Rear, and being come back to York, where the King then was, he charged the principal miscarriage of the action upon the Lord Conness, who with as stout an animosity vindicated his own reputation.

The Earl of Haddingtons mischance at Dunfe.

Though the Covenanters prospered in England, yet an odd accident in Scotland discoloured their affaires into a melancholick complexion. For General Left, having left some peeces of Canon at Dunse, which he thought more than necessary for his service; the Garrison of Barwick issued out to fetch them from Dunse, and possest themselves of them; upon this an Alarm was given to the Eurl of Haddington, then commanding in Louthian and the Merfe. The Earl with two thousand Horse and Foot pursues the English, and after a short skirmish rescued the Canon, which he carryed to Dunglasse. And being there at Dinner the next day with about fourteen or fifteen Knights and Gentlemen of note and neer alliance to him, very frolique and merry, in a moment the Magazine of powder which was in a Vault under the room where they dined, took fire and blew up himselse with all his guests. Whether this was an accident, or some industrious plot, was not

A Petition prefented to the King by the Lords.

September the Lords Mandevil and Edward Howard, delivered to the King at York this Petition.

## To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of your Majesties most loyall and most obedient Subjects, whose names are under written, in behalf of themfelves and divers others.

Most Gracious Soveraign,

The zeal of that duty, and service, which we owe to your Sacred Majesty, and our earnest affection to the good and welfare of this your Realm of England, have moved us, in all humility, to beseek your Royall Majesty, to give us leave to offer to your Princely wisdome, the apprehension, which we and others your faithfull Subjects have conceived

conceived, of the great distempers and dangers now An. Christi threatning the Church and State, and your Royal Person, and of the fittest meanes by which they may be removed and prevented.

The evills and dangers whereof your Majesty may be

pleased to take notice, are these.

1. That your Majesties Sacred Person is exposed to hazard, and danger in the present expedition against the Scottish Army; and by occasion of this Warre, your Majesties revenue is much wasted, your Subjects burthened with Coat and conduct of Money, billetting of Soldiers, and other Military charges, and divers rapines and disorders committed in severall parts of this your Realme, by the Soldiers raised for that service, and your whole Kingdome become full of feares and discontents.

2. The fundry innovations in matters of Religion, the Oath and Canons lately imposed upon the Clergie,

and other your Majesties Subjects.

3. The great encrease of Poperie, and the employing of Popish Recusants, and others ill-affected to the Religion by Lawes established, in places of power and trust, especially in commanding of Men, and Arms, both in the Field, and fundry Counties of this your Realm, whereas by Law they are not permitted to have any Armes in their own houses.

4. The great mischiefs which may fall upon this Kingdome, if the intentions which have been credibly reported of bringing in Irish and forrain Forces, should

take effect.

5. The urging of Ship-money, and profecution of some Sheriffs in the Star-chamber for not levying of it.

6. The heavy charge upon Merchandise, to the discouragement of Trade, the multitude of Monopolies, and other Patents whereby the Commodities and Manufactures of the Kingdome are much bur-

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thened

thened, to the great and universal grievance of your Peo-

7. The great grief of your subjects, by long intermission of Parliaments, and the late and former dissolving of such, as have been called, without the happy effects which otherwise they might have produced.

For remedie whereof, and prevention of the dangers that may arise to your Royal Person, and to the whole State; they doe in all humilitie and faithfulnesse beseek your most Excellent Majesty, that you would be pleased to summon a Parliament within some convenient time, whereby the causes of these, and other great grievances which your Peoplelie under, may be taken away, and the Authors and Counsellors of them may be there brought to such legal trial, and condign punishment, as the nature of their several offences shall require. And that the present War may be composed by your Majesties wisdome without bloud, in such manner as may conduce to the Honor and safetie of your Majesties Perfon, the comfort of your People, and the uniting of both your Realms against the common Enemie of the Reformed Religion. And your Majesties Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Concluded the 28. of August, 1640.

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Francis Bedford Robert Essex Mulgrave Say & Seal Edward Howard William Hartford Warmick Bullingbrook Mandevil Brook Paget.

The

## The Kings Answer.

Before the receipt of your Petition, his Majesty well fore-saw the danger that threatens himself and Crown; and therefore resolved the 24. of this moneth to summon all the Peers, and with themto consult, what in this case is sittest to be done, for his own Honor, and safety of the Kingdome, where they with the rest may offer any thing that may conduce to these ends.

According to this resolution, the Lord Keeper had directions from the King to iffue out writs of Summons for their appearance at York on the 24. day of September, which he punchually pursued.

Soon after the presenting of this Petition from the Lords, came another from the scots, the substance whereos was a desire, that his Majesty would call a Parliament, for setling a firm peace between the two Nations.

To this Petition the King, reply'd; with fignification of what he had ordered before in reference to the welfare of himselfe and both Kingdomes.

And it was high time for an accommodation to be effected, for Lessy now began to rant it in New castle, and the parts adjacent, as Brennus did at Rome, with a Vie Vistis: he imposed a tax of three hundred and fifty pound per diem upon the Bishoprick of Durham, and three hundred pound upon Northumberland, upon pain of plundring, and yet permitted souldiers to rifle houses, break up shops, and act what insolencies they pleased, seised upon four great English ships laden with corn, as lawful Prize, they not knowing in whose possession the Town was, till they entred the Haven.

The first day of the Lords assembling at York, it was refolved that a Parliament should be summoned to convene Nowember the 3. Then a message was sent to the Scots, desiring a
speedy Treaty at York. The Scots reply'd they held that no place
of security for their Commissioners, considering that he (the Lieutenant of Ireland) who commanded his Majesties Army, was one

A treaty be-

Northwaber-

An. Christi 1640.

who had proclaimed them Traitors in Ireland, before the Kine had done the same in England, and who had threatened to destroy their Nation both root and branch. And against whom, as a chief Incendiary of the late troubles, they intended to complain. Hereupon it was concluded that the Treaty should be held at Rip. pon. The place being agreed upon, the next stage of resolutions was to the nomination of persons thought fit to treat, which being determined, and affected to on both fides, and the Commissioners met to fall upon consultation, the Scots took exceptions at the Earl of Traquairs being present at their debates, he being not nominated either by the King or Parliament of Scotland as a Commissioner; whereof the King being advertised, and advising with his Councel, this answer resulted from them, That though the Earl was not authorised to treat as a Commissioner, nor to Vote in the debates; yet was it very reasonable he should be present, in regard all things which require debate, as the Lawes and Customes of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all Passages of the Assembly and Parlia. ment (to which the English Commissioners are strangers) are best known to him. This answer being returned, the Scots superseded from further opposition in that subject, so that the Commissioners fell directly upon their imployment.

The first thing propounded by the English, was a Cessation of Arms: but the Scots faid many other things were to be of anteriour consideration. As their affairs stood, untill they had obtained what they came for, home they must not return; and forward they durst not advance, his Majesty having commanded the contrary, so that there was an urgent necessity of their continuing their present quarters, which they were unable to doe, unlesse some way were stated for their subsistence: Againe, some particulars were to be predetermined of necessary relation to the Treaty; therefore october the 2. they presented the English Lords with these subsequent De-

mands.

The Scots des

" 1. We desire your Lordships to take into your con-"fiderations, how our Army shall be maintained untill "the Treaty be ended, and our peace secured.

"2. If a greater number of Commissioners be requi-"red, that a convoy be granted for their safe arrivall."

"3. A safe convoy for all Letters from us to the Parlia-"ment, and from them to us-

"4. That for the benefit of both Kingdomes, there "may be a free commerce; and that the common trade " of New castle be not hindered, but especially for vi-" chuals.

The first of these demands seemed very haish to the English, who An. Christi thought it most unreasonable to maintain the Scots at such a time, when the Kings Army was in more distresse: but the sword oft gives Law to reason; so when accosted by sturdy beggers, our fear is more liberall then our charity, and to deny the Scots any thing, confidering their armed posture, was interpreted the way to give them all, upon which apprehension our Commissioners applyed themselves very sedulously to such results, as did both comply with their demands, and were serviceable to the ease and quiet of the oppressed Countries, these were formed into thirteen Articles, and agreed upon the 16 of oftsber.

These previous obstructions being thus removed, the Commisfioners next proceeded to the Treaty of Cessation, which after several debates produced, october 26. these ensuing Articles, and were af-

ter figned by his Majesty.

1. That there be a Cessation of Armes, both by Sea and Land, from this present.

2. That all acts of Hostility doe henceforth cease.

3. That both parties shall peaceably return, during the Treaty, whatsoever they possesse at the time of the Cessation.

4. That all fuch persons who lived in any of his Majesties Forts beyond the River of Tees, shall not exempt their lands which lye within the Counties of Northumberland and the Bishoprick, from such contributions as shall be laid upon them for the payment of eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem.

5. That none of the Kings Forces upon the other fide of Tees, shall give any impediment to such contributions, as are already allowed for the competency of the Scotch Army, and shall fetch no victualls nor forrage out of their bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and Owners thereof shall bring voluntarily unto them, and that any restraints or detention of Victuals, Cattlesor Forrage which shall be made by the Scots within those bounds for their maintenance, shall be no breach.

6. That no recrute shall be brought into either Armies, from the time of cessation, and during the Treaty.

7. That the contribution of eight hundred and fifty

T he

201 An. Christi

1640.

An. Christi pounds per diem, shall be onely raised out of the Counties of Northumberland, Bishoprick, Town of New-castle, Cumberland, and Westmerland: and that the not payment thereof, shall be no breach of the Treaty, but the Countries and Townes shall be left to the Scots power to raise the same, but not to exceed the summe agreed upon, unlesse it be for charges of driving, to be set by a prizer of the Forrage.

8. That the River of Tees shall be the bounds of both Armies, (excepting alwayes the Town and Castle of Stockton, and the Village of Egysliff ) and the Countries of Northumberland and Bishoprick be the limits, within which the Scotish Army is to reside, having liberty for them to fend such convoyes as shall be necesfary for the gathering up only of the contribution, which shall be unpaid by the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

9. That if any person commit any private insolence, it shall be no breach of our Treaty, if, upon complaint made by either parties, reparation and punishment be granted.

into. If victuals be desired upon the price which shall be agreed upon; and ready money offered for the same, and refused, it shall be no breach of the Cessation to take such victualls, paying such prices.

Trans new Fortifications to be made during the Treaty, against either parties.

2. That the Subjects of both Kingdomes may in their Trade of commerce freely passe to and fro, without any stay at all, but it is particularly provided, that no member of either Army, passe without a formal Passe, under the hands of the Generall, or of him that commands in chief

That the Lieutenant of Ireland went also along, deserves a memoriall by it selfe, as the greatest piece of Imprudence he was ever guilty of in all his life, and the greater, because it had so fatall an influence upon his life. What the scots had in designe against him,

they had already verbally declared, if not the language of their actions was expresse enough; a faire warning for him to seek some place of more secure retreat, & Ireland especially, where he had the temptation of well-disciplin'd Soldiers ready to obey his command, and attend his conduct. Had he observed the dictates of this advantage, and stood upon a military defence, possibly he might have fought them into other resolutions; and had he been defeated, yet might he then have resorted for refuge to some forraign Land; whereas his repair to London was in effect, a rendring up of himselse captive to the will of his deadliest enemies, that City being now turned perfect Scotcb, and (as to inclination) more theirs then his Majesties Subjects. Two things may be said in his excuse: First, he was opinionated of his owne Innocence, and Innocence usually makes men bold and daring. True, but not alwaies safe. For where ignorance, malice prepented, selfe-interest, passion, all or any one invades the throne of Justice (a thing not very rare) the just man runs a great hazard of unjust sentence. Againe, flight imports a seeming faultinesse: True this also, and so doth Condemnation, under which, though never so injurious, the guiltlesse suffer as guilty. And therefore it is the greater wisdome, and not the greater blemish, where both are at election, to live, then dye a suspected Delinquent.

This Treaty at Rippon was but the preparation, to another of higher import, for the time being far spent, and the Scots chief demands to be considered of, the Lords by consent of the scots became humble sutors to his Majesty, that the general Treaty should be transferred to London, to which the King agreed. Hostility being thus laid to fleep, between us and Scotland, the King and Lords posted to London.

One thing very remarkable may here have a commodious situation. Fames Earl of Montrose having long and faithfully adhered to Montrose des the Covenanters, began at length, as he thought, to smell out the rancidity, and ill favour of their intentions, and that they really minded nothing leffe then what they so solemnly professed, The Honour of his Majesty, and preservation of Religion; no sooner did this apprehension seize upon him, then he meditated dis engagement; but finding the work would require his best artifice, he dissembled his intent a good while, seemed as active as before, was the first man of that Army, who in this last expedition set foot on English ground; thus studying to appear faithful and forward in petty things; that when time ferved, he might betray them to better purpole; but the Scots marching over the Tine lesse disturbed then he expected, he was much disappointed, of that opportunity he so longingly attended, yet kept the same loyal inclinations toward the King, which taking advantage of the Treaty, be found means to notifie to his Majesty by letters, where-

An. Christi The Kings pockers ritled

in he professed his fidelity and most ready obedience to him; these letters were by some of the Kings Bedchamber-men, the supposed instruments of Hamilton, secretly taken out of his Majestics pocket in the night, copyed out, and communicated to the Covenanters at New castle, who concealing their information, did not withall conceal their malignity against the Earl, but laboured all they could to render him odious to the people, and thereby unferviceable to his Majesty. This risling of his Majesties pockets (worse then of his Coffers) was not the first experiment made upon him in that kinde, but of too familiar practife, to the betraying of his most secret Counsels, so that the Archbishop of Cansurbury writing to the King concerning the plot against him discovered by Andreas ab Habernfield puts in this caution, concerning those letters: Sir, I befeech you traft not your own Pockets with them. Tacitely hinting what Legerdemain had been formerly exercised upon the Kings Pockets.

The Parliament was approaching, whose convening was attended by this Kingdome with so much longing, such impatience of defires, as every moment which retarded it, was interpreted a kinde of grievance to the subject : for we began now to thinke nothing could make us happy but a Parliament, and that no Parliament could make us miferable: this was the sense of the greater part of this Nation, and if this Parliament fucceeded not adequate to some mens vote, perhaps the miscarriage of their hopes may be somewhat imputed to this sense. Over-ruling Providence delights oft to order the operations of Agents, both free and natural, counter to mans expectations to teach us the vanity of that Faith, which is founded upon causes subaltern.

The Parlia: ment fit.

Tuesday November thez. being the day prefixt, and the Parliament affembled, his Majesty spake;

My

An. Christi My Lords, 1640.

'The knowledge that I have of the Scottish Subjects, was the cause of my calling of the 'last Assembly of Parliament, wherein if I had been believed, I doe most sincerely think that things had not faln as we now see; but it is no wonder that men are so slow to believe, that 's fo great a fedition should be raised upon so elittle ground. But now (my Lords and Gentlemen ) the honour and safety of this 'Kingdome lying so heavily at stake, I am resolved to put my selfe freely upon the love and affections of my English Subjects, as those of my Lords that waited upon me at York very well remember I there declared.

'Therefore (my Lords) I shall not mention 'mine owne interest, or that support I might 'justly expect from you till the common safe-'ty be secured: though I must tell you, I am not ashamed to say, those charges I have been 'at, have been meerly for the fecuring and 'good of this Kingdome; though the successe hath not been answerable to my desires. 'Therefore I shall onely desire you to consider the best way both for the safety and security of this Kingdome, wherein there are two things chiefly confiderable; First, the cha-'fing out of the Rebells. And secondly, that

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other,

205

An. Christi other, in satisfying your just grievances, wherein I shall promise you to concur so cheartily and clearly with you, that all the world may see my intentions have ever been, cand shall be to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom. There are only two things more that I shall mention to you. The one cisto tell you, that the Loan of mony which I clately had from the City of London, wherein the Lords who waited on me at York affifted eme, will only maintain my Army for two months from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now (my Lords and Gen-(tlemen) I leave it to your confideration, what dishonour and mischief it might be, in case for want of money my Army be disbanded, before the Rebels be put out of this Kingdome. Secondly, the fecuring of the calamities the Northern people endure at this ctime; and so long as the Treaty is on foot. And in this I may fay not onely they, but all this Kingdom will suffer the harm, therefore 'I leave this also to your consideration. For the ordering of the great affairs whereof you are to Treat at this time ! I am so confi-'dent of your love, to me, and that your care ' is fuch for the honour and fafety of the King-'dom, that I should freely leave to you where 'to begin: onely this, that you may the bet-

ter know the state of all affairs, I have com- An. Christi emanded my Lord Keeper to give you a 1640. short and free account of those things that have happened in this interim, with this Protestation, that if his account be not satisfa-'ctory, as it ought to be, I shall whensoever 'you desire it, give you a full and perfect account of every particular. One thing more 'I defire of you, as one of the greatest means 'to make this an happy Parliament, that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay afide fu-'s spicion one of another, as I promised my 'Lords at York, it shall not be my fault if this be not an happy and good Parliament.

The King having ended, the Lord Keeper, in persuance of his Majesties commands, gave them a summary relation of all things relating to the Scotish Invasion, I dare not say Rebellion, for that the King represented them under that disgustfull character, was very ill refented by some considerable persons, whereof his Majesty having notice, told the Parliament two dayes after. He must needs call them Rebells, so long as they have an Army that doe invade England.

The remainder of that week was spent partly in settling Committees for generall Grievances, and partly in set speeches, Rhetorically

declaiming against, and dissecting them. Munday being the 9. of November, Petitions came thronging | Several Petitis. in from all Counties of the Kingdome, craving redresse of the late generall exorbitances both in Church and State, as also from particular persons who had smarted under the lash of the Star-Chamber, Councell-Table, and High Commission Court. November the 10. these Petitions were delivered to Grand Committees, and divers ordered to be enlarged out of Prifons, to make their defences, especially Pryon, Bastwick, and Burten.

In the House of Lords, November the 10. there was a complaint made that their priviledges had been temerated and infringed, by the search of the Earls of Warwicks, and the Lord

House violated

1640. 

An. Christi Brookes studies, Cabinets and Pockets, upon the dissolution of the last Parliament, and Sir William Beecher the instrument imployed in that action, was fent for to give account by what authority he proceeded, who alleaged he had a warrant therefore from the two Secretaries of State, whereupon he was committed to the Fleet.

The Lieure: nant of Ireland impeached of Treason.

The next day Mr. Pym was fent from the Commons to the Lords with a meffage of Impeachment of High Treason, charged upon the Lieutenant of Ireland, whereupon he was fequestred from the Parliament house, and committed to the Usher of the Black Rod, and in order to his further accusation, Sir George Rascliff, a great confident of the Lieutenants, and a supposed concriminary with him, was two dayes after fent for out of Ireland by a Serient at Armes.

The Northern Armies in want.

The two Armies in the North lay heavy upon those Countries where they quartered, and their pressures were like to encrease unlesse some supply were speedily dispatcht to them: therefore Nevemb. the 12. the House resolved upon an 100000 l. for their present pay, and untill the monies could be levyed by way of Subfidie, they were borrowed of the City of London upon interest; divers members of the Parliament engaging for them.

Bifhop of Lin coin enlarged.

Monday the 16. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln was set free of his Imprisonment in the Tower, upon the suit of the House of Peers to his Majesty, and the next day (being a day of Humiliation) he was brought into the Abbey Church by fix Bishops, and Officiated there as Dean of Westminster before the Lords. The House of Commons affembling according to their ancient mode in St. Margarets Church, while the fecond-fervice was reading at the Communion Table (futable to the late and antient practice, ) it was disturbed by a Psalme begun, at which many were amazed.

The Earl of Strafford entring now into his state of trans-figuration, from the high pitch of honour, to the condition of durance, found his friends active and awake to serve him with their best endevours, in all things relating either to his reputation, or safety. In order to which it was the 19. day precariously moved, 1. That he might be bailed, divers Lords freely tendring themselves to that end; But the Lord Paget declared it was against the lawes of the Land, and priviledge of the House, in which opinion the major part of the Peers acquiesced. Then it was prayed he might have Counsel affigned him, and a Sollicitor, in regard he was under so strict a restraint. Both which were condescended to.

Juffice Howard affaulted by a Papist.

The 21. one Iohn James, son of Sir Henry James of Feversham in Kene, a Romish Catholique, stabbed Mr. Howard

The Reign of King Charles.	207
(a Justice of Peace for Westminster) in Westminster hall, to the great hazard of his life. The impulsive to this savage assault, was supposed to be, because Mr. Howard had framed a lift with the names of such Recusants, as were within the liberties of Westminster, which he was to deliver up to the Committee for Religion. Mr. Fames was committed to the Gate-house, and the King seat of the Commons, that they should proceed severely against him.	1640.
The 28. Mr. Prinn and Mr. Burton were brought into London in great pomp and stare, being conducted with many thousands of Horse and Foot, having sprigs of Rosemarine in their hands, to the great dishonour and defying of those Courts, which had passed sentence against them, and Decemb. the 3. were admitted into the house of Commons, to present their Petitions against the Prosecutors.	don in triumph.
The Parliament began now to appear fo formidable to all who laboured of any bad character, as the very terrour was a kinde of proscription and exile; upon this very score Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, having been questioned for reprieving Priests, and suspected guilty of worse matters, Desemb. 5. slily slipt aside into France.	Secretary Win- debank flyeth.
"Assessments for raising of money for that purpose (commonly called Shipmoney) are against the Lawes of the Realm, the subjects right and property, contrary to the former resolutions in Parliament, and the Petition of Right.  "2. That the extra-judicial opinion of the Judges published in the Star-chamber, and enrolled in the Courts of Westminster, again, the restriction of the Courts of Westminster, again, the restriction the	Votes against Ship money.
"are against the Writs (commonly called the Shipwrits) "are against the Lawes of the Realme, &c. "4. That the Judgement in the Exchequer in Mr. "Hambdens case, is as to the matter and substance thereof, against the Lawes of the Realm, &c. ut prins.	
From	

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209 An. Christi

1640.

Is voted trai-

An. Christi 1640.

From the damning of the Tax, to the censure of the contrivers of it, the motion is natural, as to a proper confectary of it; and this confideration led the Parliament first to fix upon the (fo thought) leading man therein, the Lord Keeper Finch, and the rest of the Judges; and accordingly the next day a Committee was appointed to draw up a charge of high Treason against

The London-Petition againft Bifhops.

Decemb. the 11. Alderman Penington with some hundreds at his heeles came to the House of commons, and presented a Petition from the Citizens (not from the City) of London, subscribed by 15000. lamentably complaining against the Ecclesiaftical Discipline and many ceremonies of the Church of England; which raising too much debate for a speedy determination, was transmitted to another time.

The late Canons damn'd.

The next advance in the work of reformation, was an inspection into the illegality of the late Convocation, and Canons thereof; and upon full hearing of all arguments urged on both fides, the House resolved Decemb. the 15. That the Clergy in a Syned or Convocation bath no power to make Ganons, Constitutions or Lawes to bind either Laity or Clergy, without a Parliament; and the next day voted. That the Canons are against the fundamental Lawes of this Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the right of Parliaments, and do tend to faction and Sedition.

Dependent upon this Declaration next follows the appointment of a Committee to prepare a charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury, as one of prime re-marque in forming of these Canons, and for other supposed Delinquencies: the Scots having complicated him with the Earl of Strafford in their grand accufation against him (presented to the House of Lords by the Lord Paget, Decemb. the 16.) under the character of an incendiary in this national difference, and the 18. was voted guilty of high Treafon, and committed to the Usher of the black Rod.

The same day there was also a select Committee nominated, to inquire into the branches of the privileges of Parliament, by the commitment of several members 4. Careli, as Sir Marmadake Lang-

dale, Mr. Crew, &c.

Lord Keeper Finib defen s his innocency.

The Lord Keeper Finch observed himselfe to stand upon a very tickle point, and taking notice of what was preparing against him, thought it the best way to mollifie the tumours of discontent against him, if his Defence did anticipate the Commons charge, in Order to which the 21. he made an elegant and quaint Oration tending to the Vindication of himselfe in every particular, but notwithstanding all his incantations of Rhetorique, the Commons stood fixt and immoveable, and that very day voted him a Traitor upon these considerations:

T. For

1. For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer Weston 4. Caroli, when the Parliament de-

The Reign of King Charles.

2. For soliciting, perswading and threatning the ludges to de liver their opinions for levying of Ship-money.

3. For several illegal actions in Forest matters.

4. For ill offices done, in moving the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be put forth.

The next day he was accused before the Lords, but he was early | Flyeth. up, and before day gave justice the flip, withdrawing to a more ha-

bitable Region.

The distempers of our state, both Ecclesiastical and Political, were eminently derived from the long dif-use of Parliaments, which are in truth the strongest ligaments of the relation Paramount betwixt King and People: for where a correspondency necessary to their joynt interest, is over-long dis-continued, there must needs be generated from that dif-acquaintance, many mif-understandings between, much distidence of each other; and passions severed, and not determined to publique concernments. To encounter which inconvenience, the Parliament were now modelling a Bill for a Trienniall Parliament, and at the same time Petitions came thronging one upon the neck of another, from severall Counties, and one subscribed by 700. Presbyters, against the Hierarchy of Bishops; which finding a reception in the House disagrecable to his Majesties sense, he called both Houses together, Ian. 23. at which time he first minded them of their flow proceedings, and the inconveniences emerging there-from.

As first, the maintaining of two Armies in the Kingdome, at a charge so excessive.

Next, the weak condition of his Navy, and Forts whereby his enemies are much encouraged, and his friends dis-heartned.

F f

After

211

An. Christi 1640.

After which, he said;

The Kings
Speech, for Bifliops.

T Cannot but take notice of some very A strange Petitions, given in the name of severall Counties, against the present established Government of the Church, and of the great threats that Bishops shall be no better then Cyphers, if not clear done away. Now I must tell you that I make a difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government: though I am for the first, I cannot give way to the latter. I will not fay but that the Bishops may have over-stretched their power, and encroached upon the Tem. poral, which if you will correct, and reforme the abuse, according to the wisdome of former times, so far I am with you. Nay further, if upon serious debate you shall shew me that Bishops have some temporall authority inconvenient to the State, and not so necessary to the Church for the support of Episcopacy, I shall not be unwilling to perfwade them to lay it down. Yet by this you must not understand that I can consent to the taking away their voyce in Parliament, which they have so anciently enjoyed under so many my Ancestors, even before the Conquest, and ever fince, and which I conceive I am bound

to maintain, as one of the fundamental institue An. Christi tions of this Kingdome.

There is another Rock I desire you to eschew, and that not in substance but in form, yet that form is so effential, that except it be reformed it will marre the substance. There is a Bill given in for frequent Parliaments, the thing I like well, that is to fay, to have often Parliaments; but to give power to Sheriffes, and Constables, and I know not whom to do my Office, that I cannot yeeld unto; but to thew you that I am defirous to please you in formes which destroy not the substance, I am content you shall have an Act for this purpole, but so reformed that it shall never trench upon mine honor, nor on that inseparable Right of my Crown concerning Parliaments. To which purpose I have commanded my learned Counsell to wait on you, my Lords, with fuch Propositions as I hope will give you content, for I ingenuously confesse, that frequent Parliaments are the best means to performe a right understanding between me and my Subjects.

To conclude, I have now shewed you the state of my clear intentions, and the Rocks I wish you to eschew, in all which you may perceive the defire I have to give you content, as you shall finde also by those Ministers I

have

An. Christi have and doe intend to imploy in my affaires, for the pursuance of my good intentions, which I doubt not will bring peace and happinesse to my Subjects, to the contentment of us all.

Goodman a Prieft reprie-

The same day one Goodman a Jesuite being condemned at the Sessions at London, was reprieved by the King; whereupon Mr. Glyn was sent with a message to the Nobles, to request their conjunction with them in a Petition to his Majesty, to be informed who should dare to be instrumentall in the retarding of Justice in the face of a Parliament: which being affented to by the Lords, the King by the Lord Privy Seal, Ian, 25. fignifyed the cause to be in regard he was found guilty, as being a Priest. upon which score onely, neither his Father, nor Q. Elizabeth ever exercised the rigour of the Law. This answer gave slender satisfa-Aion to the Commons, so that another conference Ian. 27. was had with the Lords, from which resulted a Remonstrance to his Majesty to this effect.

Remonstrance manthe Prieft.

That, considering the state and condition of this present time, they conceive the Law to be more necesfary to be put in strict execution, then at any time before.

First, because by divers Petitions from severall parts of this Kingdome, complaints are made of the great increase of Popery and Superstition, and the People call earnestly to have the Lawes against the Recusants put in execution.

Secondly, Priests and Fesuites Swarm in great number in the Kingdome, and appeare here with such boldnesse and confidence, as if there were no Lawes against them.

Thirdly, it appeareth to the House that of late yeares, about the City of London Priests and Fesuites have been discharged out of Prison, many of them being condemned of high Treason.

Fourthly.

Fourthly, the Parliament is credibly informed, that at An. Christi this present the Pope hath a Nuncio, or Agent resident in the City, and they have just cause to believe it to bee

Fifthly, the Papists as publiquely, and with as much confidence and importunity resort to Masse at Denmark house, St. James, and the Ambassadors Chappel, as others doe to their Parochial Churches.

Sixthly, there is found already so bad consequence of this Priest. John Goodman his reprieve, that the City of London being solicited by the Parliament for their assistance in the advancement of money, for the supply of his Majesties Army, have absolutely denyed the same, for that very reason, which may become an ill president in the levying of the Subsidies.

Lastly. It is found that this Goodman hath been twice before committed, and discharged, and was somewhile a Minister in the Church of England.

Therefore they humbly defire the faid John Goodman, may be left to the Fustice of the Law.

To this Remonstrance the King Feb. 3. replyed.

That it was against his minde that Popery The Kings or Superstition should any way encrease within this Kingdome, that he will restrain the same, by causing the Lawes to be put in execution.

That he is resolved to provide against fesuites and Papists by setting forth a Proclamation speedily, commanding them to depart the Kingdome within one moneth, of which if they fail,

An. Christi

1640.

1640.

An. Christi or shall return, then they shall be proceeded against according to Law.

Concerning the Popes Nuncio (Rosetti) he hath no Commission, but onely to retain correspondency between the Queen and the Pope, in things requisite for the exercise of her Religion. which is warranted to her by the Articles of marriage, which gave her a full liberty of conscience; yet he hath perswaded her, that since the misunderstanding of that Persons condition gives offence, The will within a time convenient remove

Moreover, he will take speciall care to restrain his Subjects from resorting to Masse at Denmark house, St. James's, and the Chappels of Ambassadors.

Lastly, concerning Goodman, because he will avoid the inconvenience of giving so great discontent to his People, as his mercy may produce, therefore he doth remit his particular case to both Houses. But he desired them to take into their considerations, the inconveniences that may upon this occasion fall upon his Subjests, and other Protestants abroad, especially since it may seem to other States to be a severity.

The Scots Army having possess fuch ample and five moneths quarters in this Kingdome, it may seem a wonder that all this while their affaires have not been affigned agreeable quarters

in this Narration, especially perpending, and considering the grand complication of interests, and how relative our highest concernments were to their present posture. A preterition, an omission, studiously and deliberatively resolved upon; a compartment diffinct and by it selfe, best sorting with such transactions, where the series of the story is not enterlined nor disturbed with matters independent, and of a different kinde. I shall therefore summarily collect all those severall parcels of by-past occurrences, which had reference to them, not forgetting the true temporalities wherein

The Reign of King Charles.

they did emerge.

What passed at the Treaty at Rippon hath been already mentioned, which onely produced a respite, a cessation of Hostility; a plenary Pacification it could not effect: this was referved for a Treaty at London to form; in order to which the King Novemb: the 23. issued forth a Commission to the former Lords, the Earls of Bedford, Hartford, Effex, Salisbury, Warmick, Bristow, Holland and Berkshire; to the Lords Wharton, Paget, Kimbolton, Brook, Paulet, Heward of Estrick, Savil and Dunsmore, to any ten or more of them, to treat with the Scotish Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earles of Roibes and Dumfermling, John Lord Lowden, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, William Drum mond. Fehn Smith Bailiff of Edenburgh, Alexander Wedderburn, Hugh Kennedy, Alexander Henderson, and Archibald Fohnston, to take into consideration their Demands, and compose all differences arising thereupon: in pursuance of which Commission, these particulars were demanded and affented to.

# The Scotish Commissioners demanded,

"First, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased 1. Demand. "to command, that the Acts of the late Parliament may "be published in his Highnesse name, as our Soveraigne "Lord, with consent of the Estates of Parliament, con-" vened by his Majesties authority.

To this it is answered, and agreed 30. Decembric 1640. That forasmuch as the Kings Majesty at the humble desire of his Subjects, did call and convene a Parliament to be holden as Edenburgh, the 2. of June 1640. wherein certain Acts were made and agreed upon, which Acts his Majesty is pleased to publish in his owne name with the consent of the Estates, and therefore commands that the faid Acts bearing date the 2. day of

216	The Reign of King Charles.
An. Christ.	Tune 1640. be published with the Acts to be made in the next Seffion of the same Parliament, and that all the said Acts, as well of the precedent, as of the next Session to be holden, have in all time coming the strength of Lawes, and to be obeyed by all the Subjects of the Kingdome of Scotland.
2. Demand.	"Secondly, that the Castle of Edenburgh, and other "strengths of the Kingdome should with the advice of the Estates of Parliament, according to their first "foundation, be surnished and used for defence and security of the Kingdome.
Answ.	It is agreed unto.
3. Demand.	"Thirdly, that Scotishmen within his Majesties Do- "minions of England and Ireland, may be freed from "censure for subscribing the Covenant, and be no more "pressed with Oathes and subscriptions unwarranted by "their Lawes, and contrary to their Nationall Oath and "Covenant approved by his Majesty.
Answ.	It is agreed Decemb. the 8. 1640. that all those who in his Majesties Dominions of England and Ireland have been imprisoned or censured any way for subscribing of the Covenant, or for resusing to take any other Oath contrary to the same, shall be freed of these censures, and shall be fully restored to their Liberties, Estates and Possessing, And for the time coming, that the Subjects of Scotland, as Subjects of Scotland, shall not be constrained to any Oath, contrary to the Lawes of that Kingdome, and the Religion there established; But such of the Kingdome of Scotland, as shall transport themselves into the Kingdome of England or Ireland, and there be settled Inhabitants, either by way of having inheritance or freehold, or by way of settled Trades, shall be Subject to the Lawes of England or Ireland, and to the Oathes established by the Lawes and Acts of Parliament in the said Kingdomes respectively, wherein they live. And the English and Irish shall have the like privilege in Scotland.
	"Fourthly,

An. Christi 1640. 4. Demand.

217

"Fourthly, that his Majesty would be pleased to declare, that whosoever shall be found, upon Triall and 'Examination by the Estates of either of the two Parlia-'ments, (they judging against the persons subject to their 'own authority) to have been the Authors and causers ' of the late and present Troubles, and Combustions, 'whether by labouring to make and foment Division betwixt the King and his People, or betwixt the two 'Nations, or any other way; shall be liable to Censure of the said Parliaments respectively.

It is answered December the 11. 1640. That his Majesty believeth he hath none fuch about him; therefore, concerning that point, he can make no other Declaration then that he is just, and that all his Courts of Justice are to be free and open to all men. Our Parliament in this Kingdome is now fitting, and the current Parliament of Scotland, neer approaching the time of their meeting; In either of which Respective, he doth not prohibite the E. states to proceed in trying and judging of whatsoever his Subjects.

And whereas it was further demanded that none after the sentence of the Parliament should have accesse to his Majesty, or be maintained or enjoy places, or offices, and have credit or au-

thority to inform or advise his Majesty;

It is declared in his Majesties name, December the 30. 1640. That he will not imploy any Person or Persons in Office or Place, that shall be judged incapable by sentence of Parliament. Nor will he make use of their service without the consent of Parliament, nor grant them accesse to his Person.

'Fifthly, that their Ships and Goods, and all dama- 5. Demand. 'ges thereof may be restored.

It is agreed Fanuary the 7. 1640. That all ships taken and cinfin. stayed should be reciprocally restored on both sides. And that the Scotish Commissioners having informed that about eighty ships of scotland are yet stayed in the Ports, and are like to suffer much losse if they shall not be delivered into some hands who may have care of them. It is agreed that warrants shall be

209

An. Christi 1640.

7. Demand.

An. Christi It

presently granted for delivery of all their Ships. And that four thousand pounds be presently advanced, for Cauking, Sailes, Cordage and other necessaries, for helping the present setting forth of the said Ships.

6. Demand.

'Sixthly, they defire from the justice and the kind-'nesse of the Kingdome of England, Reparation con-'cerning the losses which the Kingdome of Scotland hath 'sustained, and the vast charges they have been put unto 'by occasion of the late troubles.

In this demand some did note in the Scots a tincture of oblivion, if not of ingratitude, for the service England did them in what they call their first Reformation, towards which work our Nation was so auxiliary, so affistant, yet at the end brought them in no Bill of Charges. It was also noted that they entitled these demands to Fustice, which some interpreted to imply that they came hither upon the invitation of eminent persons of this Nation; it was supposed, and very like, of Pym, and Hambden. And though these Demands were not definitive nor terminated in any particular sum, yet did they compute their Losses and expences to 5 14000. La formidable and prodigious sum, more then ever was granted by the Subject to any King at once. This Demand took up long debate in the House of Commons, and at last Feb. the 3. this answer was returned.

Answ.

That this House thinks sit that a friendly assistance, and relief shall be given towards supply of the losses of the Scots, and that the Parliament did declare that they did conceive that the sum of three hundred thousand pounds is a fit proportion for the friendly assistance and relief formerly thought sit to be given towards supply of the losses and necessicies of their BRETHREN of Scotland, and that the House would in due time take into consideration the manner how, and the time when, the same shall be raised.

s Seventhly,

Seventhly, that as his Majesty hath approved the Acts of the late Parliament, wherein all such Declarations, Proclamations, Books, Libels and Pamphlets that have been made, written and published against his Loyal and dutifull Subjects of Scotland, are recalled, and ordered to be suppressed: So his Majesty may be pleased to give order that the same may be suppressed, recalled and forbidden in England and Ireland; and that the Loyalty, integrity and faithfulnesse of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland, towards his Majesties royal Person and Government may at the closing of this treaty of Peace, and at the time of Publique Thanks-giving for the same, be made known in all places and all Parish Churches of his Majesties Dominions.

It is agreed upon the 10. of February 1640. That all Declarations, Proclamations, Acts, Books, Libels and Pamphlets that have been made and published against the Loyalty and dutifulnesse of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland, shall be recalled suppressed and forbidden in England and Ireland. And that this be reciprocal in Scotland, if any such have been made or published there in prejudice of his Majesties honour. And this upon diligent enquiry to be done by the Authority of Parliament next sitting in Scotland, of which the Commissioners of Scotland do promise to have an especial care. And we do also agree, that when it shall please Almighty God to grant an happy close of this Treaty of Peace, the Loyalty of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland shall be made known at the time of publique Thanksgiving, in all places, and particularly in the Parish Churches of his Majesties Dominions.

Gg 2

That

221

An. Christi 1640. 8. Demand.

'That all Monuments, Tokens and shewes of Hostility upon the borders of the two Kingdomes may be taken away. That not onely the Garrisons of Barwick and 'Carlile may be removed, but that the works may be 'flighted and the Places difmantled.

To this Demand, being offered but the 12. of this month, no anfiver was as yet returned.

Unhappy Counsels have of late put the King out of possession of his Subjects affections, resolved he was no opportunity should escape him which might promove his re-endeerement with them; upon which inducement being lately solicited by the Dutch Ambaffadors for a match betweeen William the young Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary his daughter, and he inclined to entertain it, yet would he not make any conclusion therein, untill he had affumed the Parliament as Partners in his consultations, whereupon Feb. 10. he thus imparted his mind to the Lords:

A match propounded betwix: the Lad Mary and Prince of

My Lords.

The Kings Spe.ch to the Lords about it

'That freedome and confidence which I 'expressed at the beginning of this Parliament, to have of your love and fidelity towards my 'Person and estate, hath made me at this time come hither to acquaint you with that Alliance and Confederacy which I intend to 'make with the Prince of Orange, and the 'States, which before this time I did not think 'expedient to do, because that part which I 'do desire your advice and assistance upon, was not ready to be treated on. I will not 'trouble you with a long digression, by shew-'ing the steps of this Treaty, but leave you to be satisfied in that by those who under me 'do manage that affair. Only I shall shew

you the reasons which have induced me to An. Christi it, and in which I expect your affiftance and counsel. The Considerations that have induced me to it are these.

'First the matter of Religion, here needs 'no dispensation, no fear that my Daughters 'conscience may be any way perverted.

'Secondly, I do esteem that a strict Alliance and Confederacy with the States will be as 'uleful to this Kingdome, as that with any of 'my Neighbours, especially considering their 'affinity, neighbour-hood and way of their 'strength.

'And lastly, (which I must never forget in 'these occasions) the use I may make of this Alliance towards the establishing of my Sister 'and Nephewes.

'Now to shew you in what I defire your 'assistance, you must know that the Articles of 'Marriage are in a manner concluded, but not to be totally ratified untill that of Alliance be 'ended, and agreed, which before I demanded 'your affistance, I did not think fit to enter 'upon. And that I may not leave you too 'much at large how to begin that Counsel, 'I present you here the Propositions which 'are offered by me to the States Ambassadours for that intent. And so my Lords I 'shall only defire you to make as much expe-Gg 3 <sup>e</sup> dition

Plots of the

Judge Berkly impeacht of

high Treason

The King

for the Trieni-

al Parliament.

Papifts.

The Reign of King Charles.

212

An. Christi, dition in your Councels, as so great a business fhall require, and shall leave your Lordships 'to your own free debate.

> No one proposition of his Majesty, since the first sitting of this Parliament, was so generally passant in both Houses as this, none received with greater alacrity, none embraced with fo clear a vote, and which was a wonder, in a moment of so many jealousies, no sear of a plot upon either our Liberties or Religion: but the truth is, those feares now resulted from another party, the Romish Catholiques, and by rumours of their plots, the Kingdome was almost perpetually allarm'd, so as

> The next day four members of the House of Commons were sent up to the Lords with a message, importing the discovery of a great designe in hand by the Papists, as an Army of 15000. in Lancashire, and 8000. in Ireland, with many thousands in other places well armed, and in pay, raifed by the Earl of Strafford, Earl of Worcester and others.

Feb. 23. Sir Robert Berkly was accused by a motion of the Commons of high Treason, and by the Usher of the black Rod taken the next day from his feat in the Kings Bench, and carryed away under the notion of his prisoner.

The Bill for the Triennial Parliaments having past both Houses was animated with the Royall affent Feb. the 16. his Majesty minding the Parliament of the grandure of this Grace, and what he expected in way of gratitude from them, in these words.

My Lords,

His Speech concerning it.

'And you the Knights, Citizens, and 'Burgesses of the House of Commons; you 'may remember when both Houses were with me at the Banquetting house at White-'hall, I did declare unto you two Rocks I 'wished you to shun, this is the one of them, and of that consequence that I think never Bill passed here in this House of more favour to the Subject then this is: And if the other

'Rock

Rock, be as happily past over, as this shall An. Christi be at this time; I doe not know what you can aske, for ought I can see at this time, that I can make any question to yeild unto. Therefore I mention this to shew unto you the sense I have of this Bill, and the Obligation, as I may fay, that you have to me for it; for 'hitherto (to speak freely) I had no great en-'couragement to doe it.

'If I should look to the outward face of your 'actions, or proceedings, and not to the inward 'intentions of your hearts, I might make question of doing it.

'Hitherto you have gone on in that which concernes your felves to amend, and not in those things that meerly concern the strength of this Kingdome, neither for the State nor 'mine own particular.

'This I mention, not to reproach you, but to ' shew you the state of things as they are, you have taken the Government all in pieces, and 'I may say it is almost off the Hinges. A skil-'full VV atch-maker to cleanse his VV atch 'will take it a funder, and when it is put toge-'ther it will goe better, so that he leaves not out one pin of it.

'Now as I have done all this on my part, 'you know what to do on yours; and I hope 'you shall see clearly that I have peformed really

225

An. Christi 1640.

The Arch-

bishop accused

of high Tre-

really, what I expressed to you at the beginining of this Parliament, of the great trust I have of your affections to me; and this is he great expression of trust, that before you doe any thing for me, I doe put such a considence in you.

At the same time he signed also the Bill of Subsidies, both which Acts were so pleasing to the Parliament, that upon a conference between both Houses it was unanimously agreed to wait upon his Majesty at White hall, and by the Lord Keeper (Sir Edward Littleton) to return him their humble thanks. And that night Bonesires and other tokens of joy were made in the City by order of the Parliament.

February the 26. the Archbishops charge compounded of 14. Articles was preferred in the Lords House by Mr. Pym, whereupon he was ordered to the Tower, but upon his humble sute to the Lords, his Commitment thither was respited until March the Grs.

But these proceedings against him did not give plenary satisfaction to all, most cryed aloud for a Reformation in the Hierarchy it selfe, many would detrench from them their secular power and votes in Parliament, nay some were male-content unlesse the whole order were eradicated; and this was now vehemently pressed by the City Petition, now under consideration of the Committee: a mighty debate there was about this time in the House of Commons upon this Subject, and no arguments omitted which might officiate to either end; amongst the rest Episcopacy had not a faster friend, nor the City Petition a stouter Antagonist, then the Lord Digby, who spake for the one and against the other, no man to better purpose, and summarily thus;

The Lord
Digbies Speech
for Bpilcopacy

That he looked not upon that Petition, as a Petition from the City of London, but from he knew not what 15000. Londoners, all that could be got to subscribe. That therein he discovered a mixture of things Contemptible, Irrational, and Presumptuous.

Contemptible. Did ever any man thinke that the fables of Ovid, or Tom Coriats newes, should by 15000.

have been presented to a Parliament as a motive for the extirpation of Bishops; For the scandal of the Rocket, the Lawn sleeves, the Four-cornered Cap, the Cope, the Surplice, the Hood, the Canonical! Coat, &c. may passe as Arguments of the same weight. He did not know whether it were more preposterous to inferre the extirpation of Bishops from such weak arguments, or to attribute, as they doe, to Church-Government all the Civil grievances. Not a Patent, not a Monopoly, not the price of a Commodity raised, but these men make Bishops the cause of it.

Irrational. A Petition ought to be like a kind of syllogism, the Conclusion the Prayer, ought to hold proportion with the Premisses, that is, with the Complaints, and to be deduced from them: but in this Petition there was a multitude of Allegations, of Instances, of Abuses, and depravations in Church Government; and what is thence inferred? Let the use be utterly abolished for the abuses sake. For the moveables sake to take away the solid good of a thing, is just as reasonable, as to root up a good tree, because there is a Canker in the Branches.

Presumptuous. What greater boldnesse can there be, than for Petitioners to prescribe to a Parliament what and how it should doe? for a multitude to teach a Parliament what is, and what is not, the Government according to Gods word? A. gain, it is high presumption to Petition point-blank against a Government in force by Law; the honour of former AEts must be upheld, because all the reverence we expect from future times to our own AEts, depends upon our supporting the dignity of former Parliaments.

He said, Wee all agree that a Reformation of Church Government is most necessary: But to strike at the root be can never give his vote, before three things were cleared to him.

219 Anno Christe

1640.

Amo Chilti

First, That no rule, no boundaries can be set to Bishops able to restraine them from such exorbitan-

Secondly, Such a frame of Government must be laid before us, as no time, no corruption, can make liable to inconveniences preportionable with those we abouth.

Thirdly, Whether the new model is practicable in the State, and confistent with Monarchy.

For the first, he was confident a Triennial Parliament would be a curb sufficient to order them.

For the second, he was also confident, that if we did listen to those who would extirpate Episcopacy, we should in state of every Bishop we put down in a Diocesse, set up a Pope in every Parish.

For the last, he was of opinion, that it would be unsafe for Monarchy: for if the Presbyterian Affemblies should succeed, they would assume a power to excommunicate Kings as well as other men. And if lings came once to be excommunicated, men are not like to care much what becomes of them.

In conclusion, though Episcopacy kept her effentialls still, yet was she much mutilated in her former glory. The House of Commons voting Marsh the 10. That no Bilbep Ball have any vote in Parliament, nor any judicial power in the Star chamber, nor bear any fway in Temporal affaires, and that no Clery man Shall be in Commi Bron of the poace.

I am now tending apace to the Earl of Straffords Tryal, in order and relative to which, it will be necessary to premise what antecedently occurred.

The Charge against the Earl of St afford is gi ven in.

The Commons having preferred their Accusation against him, as I said before, a formal charge disposed into Articles was next of course to follow. These at first they digested into 7 heads, which confifting only of generals, were after distributed into 28. particulars; and Ian, the 30, presented by Mr. Pym to the Peers, as their compleat charge against the Earl: who being immediately fent for, and having heard it read, he defired three moneths day to answer; the reason of this desire was after signi-

tyed to the Commons to be, in regard fome of the Treasons were of 14. years standing, and could not on the suddain be answered: Again, as his Charge was long, fo his Answer must be commenfurate, the rough draught whereof being 200. Theets of paper, it could not be engrossed so soon as was defired. Neverthelesse the Commons ply'd the Lords with fuch incessant applications, as he was enforced to finish, and exhibit it to the Lords Feb. the 24. when it was read in the Kings audience; and in the House of Commons the next day after.

The Roign of King Charles.

The Earls Answer being given in, there ensued several questions, which were the subjects of great debate between the Lords fiver. and Commons.

First, Concerning the allowance of Councel. The Commons alledging that in cases of high Treason Councel cannot regularly be allowed; which the Lords faid was true in pleading matters of fact, not in matters of Law. This was in some fort granted at length by the lower House.

Secondly, Concerning the place of Tryal, the Lords defiring it might be in their own House, but the Commons opposed it, because they intended to manage their accusation by members of their own House in the presence of their whole House; to which purpose the Lords House was thought too little, whereupon westminster-hall was agreed upon.

Lastly, The Commons were moved to declare in what quality they would fit, whether as a full House with their Speaker, or as a Committee only; to which they replyed, That they intended to come in the body of their House, which the Lords not affenting to, they at last yeelded to come as a Committee.

As westminster-hall was the place, so Monday the 22. of resiminster-hall March was the first day prefix tof the Earls compearing. Never his Tryal. was there in this Isle a scene of Justice more magnificent reared for any Subject, yea when even Majesty her fell received a like fentence from that place, her Trial was nothing fo majestique. Scaffolds were erected on either fide of the Hall, there the Commons fat uncovered, and in the middest of the lower ascent the Peers; behind, but raifed above them, there was placed a Chair and Cloth of State for the King, on either fide whereof was a close Gallery for the King, Queen and Prince to be private, Jutable to the ancient mode.

The Bishops were excluded by ancient Canon Lawes of the Councels of Toledo to be affistant in cases of Blond or Death, as dif-agreeable to their function, who officiate so much towards the unbloudy facrifice, as also to ballance the strictnesse of their own interdict, which prohibits Lay-men a vote with them in the municatio quod Act of Excommunication; this being a Spiritual flaughter, as the

c.30. & unde-

Hoc agit in Ecinterfectio. Aug

And his An-

Am. Chrilis 1640. 

other a Corporal. Upon which confideration they absented themselves.

The Earl of Arundel was Lord High Steward, and the Earl of Lindsey Lord High Constable. The Earl of Strafford being brought to the Bar, the Lord High Steward declared to him, that he was called thither to answer to the impeachment of High Treason preferred against him by the Commons of England and Ireland. Then his Accufation was read, and next his Answer to it, in which most part of that day being spent, the Court arofe.

The next day he being brought again to the Bar, the House of Commons began with the first 7. General Articles, declaring how he had subverted the Fundamental Lawes of England and Ireland; this particular was managed by Mr. Pym; next there was a Paper produced fealed, which being opened and read, appeared to be fent from the Parliament in Ireland, declaring that the Commons there had voted the Earl guilty of High Treason, whereat the Earl much aftonisht and transported with passion, faid, There was a Conspiracy against him to take away his life. The words were no fooner out of his mouth, then the House of Commons (who flood diligent Sentinels to watch every fyllable he spake) required Justice against him, because he standing impeacht of High Treason, accused the Parliaments of two Kingdomes of a conspiracy against him; whereupon he humbly craved pardon for the inconfideratenesse of the expression, protesting seriously he did not thereby intend either Parliament, but some particular persons.

Then Mr. Pym moved that whereas there was a difcovery made of three Articles more to be annexed to his charge, he might prefently be commanded to reply to them; to which the Lieutenant answered, that the Processe being closed, he hoped he should not be ordered to answer any adventitious and unexpected charge without more convenient time affigned. But upon confideration of the Articles, the Lords finding them to be of no great importance, he was urged to a prefent reply. The Articles were;

New Articles Larl.

First, That he had withdrawn 24000 l. ( some copies have 40000 l. ) sterling from the Exchequer in Ireland, and converted to his own use.

Secondly, That in the beginning of his Government the Garrisons of Ireland had been maintained by the English Trea-

Thirdly.

# The Reign of King Charles.

Aca. Christi 1640. 

22 t

Thirdly, That he had advanced Popish and Infamous per. sons, as the Bishop of Waterford, and others to the prime Roomes in the Church of Ireland.

To the first he said, That England was indebted | The Earls to Ireland that summe, and that he took up the money upon his own Credit, and paid it in again, and that he had the Kings authority for the same, producing his Maiesties Letter.

To the fecond, That the Garrisons had beene burdensome to England in former Deputies times; that he so found them, but that he had so improved the Kings Revenues there, as they were not onerous at all to England.

To the last, That he never preferred any but such whom he conceived to be conscientious and honest men; that he could not prophecy of mens future conditions; and for the Bifhop of Waterford he hath satisfied the Law:

This dayes encounter between the Parliament and Earl feemed a dispute only at wasters, these generals being not impregned with any deadly quality.

The next day, March the 24, they fell to sharp, that is to enforce the Particular Articles, in order as they were disposed, which in regard they were the formall principles of the Earles Tragique end, I reserved for this place, wherein I shall so represent them, as the Reader may (as in the same Table) at once behold the Commons Charge and the Earls Defence run lateral and in pale each with other, omitting fuch as not being urged, fignified nothing.

The

## The further Impeachment of Thomas Earl of Strafford by the Commons affembled in PARLIA MENT.

The First Article was not insisted upon.

H.

The Earls Reply.

That Sir David Fowles was

Secondly, by

That shortly after the obtaining of a Commission dated the his profest enemy, that his 21. of March, in the 8, year of words were clearly inverted, his now Majesties reign (to wit) that his expression was, That the the last day of August then next little finger of the Law ( if not following, he the faid Earl (to moderated by the Kings gracious bring his Majesties liege people clemency ) was heavier than the into a dislike of his Majesty and Kings lognes. That these were of his Government, and to rer- his words, he verify'd; First, by rific the Justices of the Peace the occasion of them, they being from executing of the Lawes; spoken to some whom the Kings he, the faid Earl, being then Pre-fident of the Kings Councel in Imprisonment at rock, as a mothe Northern parts of England, tive to their thankfulnesse to and a Justice of Peace) did publis Majesty. likely at the Affises held for the Sir william Penniman a Mem-County of rook in the City of ber of the House, who was then Tork, in and upon the faid last present, and heard the words. day of August, declare and pub- which Sir William declaring to lish before the people there at- he true : the House of Commons tending for the administration required suffice of the Lords aof Justice according to the Law, gainst him, because he had voted and in the presence of the Justi- the Articles as a Member of ces fitting, that some of the Justices the House; whereupon Sir wilwere all for Law, but they should liam wept. finde that the Kings little finger should be heavier than the loynes of the Law.

Testified by Sir David Fowles and others.

III.

That the Realm of Ireland having been time out of minde beral of his tongue for want of annexed

The Earls Reply.

That if he had been over lidiscretion,

231 Anno Christi 1641.

same Lawes: the said Earl being Lord Deputy of that Realm, to bring his Majesties liege people of that Kingdome likewife into dislike of his Majesties government, and intending the subversion of the fundamental Lawes and fetled government of that Realm, and the distraction Loyal Subjects would grant. of his Majesties liege people, there did, upon the 30, day of September, in the ninth yeare of his now Majesties reign, in the City of Dublin ( the chief City of that Kingdome, where his Majesties Privie Counsel, and Courts of Justice do ordinarily reside, and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do usually resort for Justice) in a publick Speech before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Maior, Aldermen, & Recorder, and many Citizens of Dublin, and other his Majesties liege people, declare and publish, that Ireland was a conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased; and speaking of the Charters of the former Kings of England made to that City, he further faid, that their Charters were nothing worth, and did binde the King no further than he pleased.

Testifyed by the Earl of Cork and two other Lords.

IV.

That Richard Earl of Corke having fued out process in courf of Law for recovery of his pos-life, for an hasty word, or be**fessions** 

annexed to the Imperial Crown differetion, yet could not his of this his Majesties Realm of words amount to Treason, un-England, and governed by the leffe they had been revealed within 14. days, as he was informed. As to the Charge, he faid, True it is, he faid Ireland was a conquered Nation, which no man can deny; and that the King is the Law-giver, in matters not determined by Acts of Parliament, he conceived all

The Earls Reply.

It were hard measure for a March 27. man to lose his honour, and his cause:

March 25. 1641.

1641. 

-dans Cirrifti | fessions, from which he was put I cause he is no wifer than God by colour of an order made by hath made him. As for the Petition, without legal proceedings, did the 20. day of Februart, in the 11. yeare of his now Majesties reign, threaten the said Earl of Corke (being then a Peer of the faid Realm ) to imprison him, unlesse he would surcease his fute, and faid, That he would have neither Law nor Lawyers difpute or question any of his orders. And the 20. day of March in which he produced. And that the faid 11. year, the faid Earl if those words were Treason, of Strafford speaking of an order of the faid Councel Table of that Realm, made in the time of King Iames, which concerned a Leafe which the faid Earl of Cork claimed in certain Rectories or tithes which the faid Earl of Cork alleaged to be of no force, faid, That he would make the faid Earl and all Ireland know. so long as he had the Government there, any act of State, there made, or to be made, should bee as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdome, as an Ad of Parliament: And did question the faid Earl of Corke in the Castle Chamber, upon pretence of breach of the faid order of Counsell table, and did fundry other times, and upon fundry other occasions, by his words and speeches arrogate to himfelf a power above the fundamental Laws, & established government of that Kingdome, and fcorned the faid Lawes and established Govern-

V. That

the faid Earl of Strafford, and the words, he confessed them to Counsel Table of the faid be true, and thought he faid no Healm of Ireland. The faid more than what became him, Farl of Strafford upon a paper | confidering how much his Mafters honor was concerned in him, that if a proportionable obedience was not as well due to Acts of State, as to Acts of Parliament, in vain did Councels fit. And that he had done no more than what former Deputies had done, and than what was agreeable to his Instructions from the Counfel Table, they should have been revealed within 14. dayes.

v.

That according to such his Declarations and Speeches, the exercife a power above, and athe jundamentall Lawes, and former Deputies; that had the and lives of his Majesties Subicas of the faid Realm, viz. The Lord Commay and Sir Jacob Allfaid Earl of Strafford the 12 day ley had for doing the like in the of Decemb. Anno Dom. 1635. in the time of full peace, did in the faid Realm of Ireland, give nor procured it against the Lord and procure to be given against | Mount - Norris, but only defired the Lord Mount-Norris (then justice against the Lord for some and vet a Peer of Ireland, and affront done to him as he was then Vice-treasurer and receiver Deputy of Ireland. general of the Realm of Ireland, and one of the principal Secre- ed by a Countel of Warre, taries of State, & Keeper of the wherein he fat bare all the time, Privy Signet of the faid King- and gave no fuffrage against dom) a sentence of death by a him; that also to evidence him-Counsel of War called together felf a party, he caused his broby the faid Earl of strafford, ther Sir George Wentworth, in rewithout any watranter author gard of the recrnesse of bloud, rity of Law or offence descring to decline all acting in the proany fuch punishment. And he ceffe. the faid Earl did also at Dublin within the faid realm of Ireland, in the moneth of March in the 14. year of his Majesties Reign, without any legal or due proceedings or tryal, give or cause to be given, a sentence of death against one other of his Majesties subjects, whose name is yet unknown, and caused him to be put to death in execution of the faid fentence.

The Earls Reply,

That there was then a ftanding Army in Ireland, and Arfaid Earl of Strafford did use and mies cannot be governed bur by Martial Law : that it hath been gainft, and to the subversion of put in constant practice with stablished Government of the sentence been unjustly given by faid Realm of Ireland, extending him, the crime could amount but fuch his power to the goods; to Felony at most, for which he free-holds, inheritances, liberties hoped he might as well expect pardon from his Majefty, as the late Northern Army.

That he neither gave sentence

That the faid Lord was judg-

VI. That

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The

-Anno Christi 1641. March 28.

Anno Christi 1640. 

#### VI.

That the faid Earl of Strafford without any legal proceedings, and upon a paper Perition of Richard Rolftone, did cause the faid Lord Mount-Norris to be diffeifed and put out of poffession of his free-hold and inheritance of his Mannor of Tymore in the County of Armagh, in the Kingdom of Ireland, the faid Lord Mount-Norris having been two years before in quiet poffession thereof.

#### VII.

That the faid Earl of Strafford, in the Terme of Holy Trinity, in the 13. year of his now Majesties reign, did cause a case commonly called The case of Tenures upon defective Titles. to be made and drawn up without any Jury or tryal, or other legal processe, and without the consent of parries, and did then procure the Judges of the faid Realme of Ireland to deliver their opinions and refolutions to that case, and by colour of such opinions, did without any legal proceeding, cause Thomas Lord Dillon, a Peer of the faid Realm of Ireland, to be put our of possession of divers Lands and Tenements, being his freehold in the County of Mago and Rosecomen, in the said Kingdom, and divers others of his Majesties subjects to be also put out of possession, and disseised

### The Earls Reply.

That he conceived the Lord Mount-Norris was legally divested of his possessions, there being a fuite long depending in Chancery, and the Plaintiff complaining of delay, he upon the Complainants Petition called unto him the Master of the Rolles , Lord Chancellor , and Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and upon proofs in Chancery decreed for the Plaintiff. Wherein he faid he did no more, than what other Deputies had done before him.

### The Earls Reply.

That the Lord Dillon with others producing his Patent according to a Proclamation on the behalf of his Majesty, the faid Patent was questionable, upon which a cafe was drawn and argued by Counfel, and the Judges delivered their opinions. But the Lord Dillon or any other, was not bound thereby, nor put out of their possessions, but might have traverst the office, or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said opinion.

The

# The Reign of King Charles.

of their free-hold by colour of the fame resolution, without legal proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majesties fubjects were undone, and their families utterly ruined.

#### VIII.

That the faid Earl of Strafford upon a Petition exhibited in October, 1635. by Thomas Hibbots against Dame Mary Hibbots widow, to him the faid Earl of Strafford, recommended the faid Petition to the Counfel Table of Ireland, where the most part of the Counfel gave their vote and opinion for the faid Lady, but the faid Earl finding fault herewith, caused an order to be entred against the said Lady, & threatned her, that if she refused to fubmit thereunto, he would imprison her, and fine her five hundred pound; that if she continued obstinate, he would continue her imprisonment, and double her fine every month by month, whereof the was enforced to relinquish her estate in the Land questioned in the said Petition, which shortly was conveyed to Sir Robert Meredeth, to the use of the faid Earl of Strafford.

And the faid Earl in like manner did imprison divers others of his Majesties subjects upon pretence of disobedience to his orders and decrees, and other illegal commands by nim made for pretended debts, titles of Lands, and other causes, in an arbitrary

The Earls Reply.

That true it is he had voted against the Lady Hibbors, and thought he had reason so to do, the faid Lady being discovered, by fraud and circumvention, to have bargained for Lands of a great value, for a finall fum. And he denied that the faid Lands were after for to his use, or that the major part of the Counfel Board voted for the Lady; the contrary appearing by the fentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Counsel: which being true, he might well threaten her with Commitment in case she disobeyed the said order. Lastly, were it true that he were criminal therein, yet were the offence but a mifdemeanour, no treason.

March 31.

235

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and extrajudicial course, upon Paper Petitions to him preferred, and no other canfe legally depending.

1·X.

April 1.

That the faid Earl of Strafferd, the 16. day of Feb. in the 12. utually granted by former Deyear of his now Majesties reign, puties to Bithops in Ireland; affuming to himfelf a power nevertheleffe, being not fully faabove and against Law, took tissyed with the convenience upon him by a general warrant, thereof, he was sparing in granunder his hand, to give power ting of them, until being inforto the Lord Bishop of Down, and med that divers in the Dio-Connor his Chancellor, or Chancel- ceffe of Down were formewhat lors, and their feveral Officers retractory, he granted Warrants thereto to be appointed, to at- to that Bithop, and hearing of tach and Arreit the Bodies of fome diforders in the execution, all fuch of the meaner and poorer fort, who after citation thould either refuse to appear before them, or appearing, thould omit, or deny to perform, or undergo all lawful decrees, fentences, and orders iffuel, imposed or given out against them, and them to commit and keep in the next Gaole, untill they (bould either performe fuch fentences or put in Caffici no Pail to Shew some reason before the Council Table, of Such their contempt and reglect, and the faid Earlstie day and year last mentioned, figued and iffued a Warrant to that effect, and made the like Warrant to fend all other Bishops and their Chancellors in the faid Realm of Ireland to the same effect.

X.

April 2.

That the faid Earl of Strafford,

The Earls Reply.

That fuch Writs had been he called them in again.

The Earls reply.

That his Interest in the Cubeing Lord Lieutenant, or De- stomes of Irelana accrued to him puty of Ireland, procured the by the affignation of a Leafe

-11.10 Carilti 1641. S

237

Customes of the Merchandise ex- from the Dutchesse of Buckingported out, and imported into that ham : that the book of Rates, Realm to be farmed to his owne by which the Customes were

then interest in the said Cuftoms (to advance his own gain | been just and faithful to his Maand lucre)did cause and procure | ster the King, by encreasing his the native commodities of Ire- Revenue; so hath he also much land, to be rated in the book of bettered the Trade, and thip-Rates for the Customes (according to which the Customs were usually gathered) at far greater values and prices, than in truth they were worth; ( that is to fay ) every hide at 20 shillings, which in truth was worth but five shillings, every stone of Wool at thirteen shillings four pence, though the fame ordinarily were worth but five shillings, at the utmost but nine shillings; by which means the Custom which before was but a twentyeth part of the true value of the commodity, was inhanced fometimes to a fifth part, and fometimes to a fourth, fometimes to a third part of the true value, to the great oppression of the subjects, and decay of Merchandise.

XI.

That the faid Earl, in the ninth year of his now Majestics Reign, did by his own will and pleafure, and for his own lucre, restrain the exportation of the commodities of that Kingdome without his licence, as namely Pipe-staves, and other commodities, and then raifed great

gathered, was the same which was established by the Lord De-And in the ninth year of his puty Faulkland, Anno 1628. now Majesties Reign, he having | iome years before he was imployed thither. That as he hath ping of that Kingdom.

The Earles Reply.

That Pipe-Staves were prohited in King Tames his time, and not exported but by licence, paying 6s. 8 d. a thousand, and that he had not raifed to much thereby to himfelf, as his predeceffors had done for fuch licences.

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Auno (brift. 1641. 

funs of money for licenting of exportation of those commodities, and diffeenfation of the faid restraints imposed on them, by which means the Pipe-staves were raifed from four pound ten shillings, or five pound per thousand, to ten pound, and sometimes eleven pound per thousand: and other commodities were inhanced in the like proportion, and by the same means by him the Said Earl.

XII.

That the faid Ear! being Lord Deputy of Ireland, on the ninth day of Jan. in the thirteenth year of his Majefties Reign, did then under colour to regulate Proclamation, it was not fet out the importation of Tobacco into the faid Realm of Ireland, iffus a Proclamation in his Majestice name, prohibiting the importation of Tobacco without licence of him and the Counfel, therefrom and after the first day of May, Anno Dom. 1638. After which restraint, the said Ear! notwithstanding the said restraint, caused divers great quantities of Tobacco to be imported to his own use, and fraighted divers ships with Tobacco, which he imported to his own use: and that if any ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the faid Earl and his Agents used to buy the same to his own use, at their own price. And if that the Owners refused to let him have the same at under values, then they were not permitted to vent the same; by which unduc means the faid Earl ha-

The Earls Reply.

That before his time the King had but 10. or 20.1. per anoum for that Custome, which now yeelded 200001. For the by his means principally, or for his private benefit, but by confent of the whole Counfel. The prices of Tobacco not exceeding two shillings the pound. And this he conceives cannot be made treason, were all the Ardelegranted, buronly a Monopoly, for which he was to be fined.

The

The Reign of King Charles.

1.04.24.14

239 Anno Christi 1641. 

ving gotten the whole Trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he fold it at great and excessive prices, fuch as he lift to impose for his own profit.

And the more to affure the faid Monopoly of Tobacco, he the faid Earl, on the 23. day of Feb. in the 13. year aforesaid, did iffue another Proclamation; commanding that none should put to fale any Tobacco by whole-fale, from and after the last day of May, then next following, but what should be made up into Rols, & the fame fealed with two feals by himfelf appointed, one at each end of the Roll. And fuch as was not fealed to be feifed, appointing fixpence the pound for a reward to fuch perfons as should feife the same: and the persons in whose custody the unsealed Tobacco should be found to be committed to Gaol: which last Proclamation was covered by a pretence of the restraining of the fale of unwholefom Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the faid Monopoly.

Which Proclamation the faid Earl did rigorously put in execution, by feifing the goods, fining, imprisoning, whipping, & putting the offenders against the same Proclamation on the pillory, as namely, Barnaby Hubbard , Edward Covena , John Tumen, and divers others: and made the Officers of State, and Iuftices of Peace, and other Officers to fervehim in compassing and executing these unjust and undue courfes. By which cruel-

1641.

Anno Chrifi 1641. 

ties and unjust Monoplies, the faid Earl raised 100000 pounds per annum gain to himfelt. And yet the faid Earl, though he innanced the Cuftomes, where it concerned the Merchants in general, yet drew down the import formerly taken on Tobacco, from fix pence the pound to three pence the pound, it being for his own profit to to do. And the faid Earl, by the fame, and other rigorous and undue means raifed feveral other Monopolies and unlawfull exactions for his own gain, viz. on Starch, Iron pots, Glasses, Tobaccopipes, and feveral other commodities.

XIII.

April 3.

That Flax being one of the principal and native Commodities of that Kingdom of Ireland, the faid Earl having gotten great quantities thereof into his ter detriment to England. That hands, and growing on his own Lands, did iffue out feveral Proclamations, viz. one dated the one and twentieth day of May, in the eleventh of his Majesties reign, and the other dated the one and thirtieth of Ianuary, in the fame year, thereby preferibing and enjoyning the working of Flax into Yarn and Thread, and she ordering of the same in fuch waies, wherein the Natives of that Kingdome were unpractifed and unskilful: which Proclamations fo iffued, were, by his Commands and Warrants to his Majesties Justices of Peace, and other Officers, and by other rigorous means, put in execution

The Earls reply.

That he did endeavour to advance the manufacture of linnen, rather than of woollen, because the last would be the greathe Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor Loftus, and the Lord Mount-Nonis, all of the Counfel, & fubicribers of the Proclamation, were as liable to the charge as himself. That the reducing of that Nation by Orders of the Counfel - Board to the English Cuitomes from their more favage usages, as drawing horses by their tails, &c. had been of former practice: that the project was of io ill avail to him as he was the worfe for the manufacture thirty thousand pounds at leaft, by the foom he had fer up at his own charge.

execution, and the Flax wrought or ordered in other manner than as the faid Proclamation prescribed, was scized and employed to the use of nim and his agents, and thereby the faid Earl endevoured to gain, and did gain in effect the fole fale of that native commodity.

The XIV. Article was not urged.

XV.

That the faid Earl of Strafford trayteroufly and wickedly devi- ordinary in Ireland, to an for the fed and contrived by force of Armes, in a warlike manner, to fubdue the Subjects of the taid | 1.elp of fouldiers; that Grandison, Realm of Ireland, to bring them under his tyrannical power and will, and in purfuance of his [ Sir Arthur Teringham to this] wicked and trayterous purpotes point deposed, that in Falklands aforesaid, the said Earl of Straf- time be knew 20 Souldiers apeffed ford, in the eighth year of his upon one man, for reufing to pay Majesties reign, did by his own | finteen shillings. ] That his inauthority, without any warrant or colour of Law, tax and imposegreat sums of money upon the Townes of Baltemore, Bau- Lord Falkland, and that in both denbridge, Talone, and divers other Townes and places in the faid Realm of Ireland, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns by Troops of Souldiers, with force and arms, in a warlike manner. And on the ninta day of March, in the twelfth year of his now Majestics reign, tray- death in that high Court, espeteroufly did give authority un- cially it being not averred upon to Robert Sacill a Sergeant at Oath to agree with the Origin armes, and to the Captains of nal, which thould be upon rethe companies of Souldiers, in core. That he conceived he feveral parts orthat Realm, to : was for an Ivil's cuffe me to ferd :

The Earls reply.

That nothing bath been more Governours to put all manner of fentences in execution by the Falkland, Chichefter, and other Deputies frequently did it. structions for executing his Commission, were the same with those formerly given to the there is expresse warrant for it. That no teltimony produced against him doth evidently prove he gave any warrant to that effect, and that Serjeant Sacil thewed only the Cepy of a warrant, not the Original it felf, which he conceived could not make faith in case of life and K. &

243

1641.

to lie on the Lands and Houses Kingdom. of fuch as would not conform to his orders, until they thould render obedience to his faid orders and warrants, and after fuch fubmiffion (and not before) the faid Souldiers to return to their Garrisons. And did also issue the like warrants unto divers others, which warrants were in warlike manner, with force & Arms, put in execution accordingly, and by fuch warlike means did force divers of his Majesties Subjects of that Realm to fubmit themselves to his unlawful commands.

And in the faid twelfth year of his Majesties reign, the faid Earl of Strafford did trayteroufly cause certain troops of horse and foot, armed in warlike manner, and in warlike array, with force and armes, to expel Richard Butler from the possession of Castle-cumber, in the Territory of Idough, in the faid realm of Ireland, and did likewise and in like warlike manner, expel divers of his Majesties Subjects from their houses, families, and possessions, as namely Edward Brenman, Owen Oberman, Patrick Oberman , Sir Cyprian Horsfield, and diversothers, to the rumber of about a hundred families, and took and imprisoned them and their wives, and carried them prifoners to Dublin, and there detained them until they did yield up, furrender, or release their respective estates and rights.

ding Ciridi fend fuch numbers of Souldiers be tryed by the Peers of that

And the [aid Earl, in like warlike manner, bail , during his government of the faid Kingdom of Ircland, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects ease to bis wil, and thereby and by the means aforefaid, bath levied war within the faid Realm, against bis Majesty and his liege people of that Kingdom. Testitved by Seriant Savil.

dino Christi 1641. 

This Article pincht the Earl fo close, as notwithstanding his Answer, the Commons thought the evidence so strong against him, and were so confident that the fact was Treason, as they were very defirous to proceed to vote upon that very point; but the Lords withdrawing, returned answer, that they could not agree to it, but defired them to go on to the remaining Articles.

XVI.

ford, the two and twentieth of had fet out the fame Proclama-February, in the feventh year of tion. That the same restraint his now Majesties reign, inten- was contained in the Statute of ding to oppresse the said Sub- 25 of Hen. 6. upon which the jects of Ireland, did make a Proclamationwas founded. That proposition, and obtained from the had the Kings expresse warhis Majesty an allowance, that rant for the Proclamation. That no complaint of injustice or op- he had also power to do it by pression done in Ireland, should the Commission granted him, & be received in England against that the Lords of the Counsel any, unlesse it first appeared and three Justices, not only vielthat the party made first his ad- | ded , but pressed him unto it. dreffe to him the faid Earl: and That it was don upon just cause, the faid Earl having by fuch for, had the Ports been open, usurped tyrannical and exorbi- divers would have taken liberty tant power, expressed in the for- to go to Spain, to Doway, Rhemes, merArticles, deftroyed the Peers for St. Omers, which might have and other subjects of that King- proved of mischievous consedom of Ireland, in their lives, quence to the State. That the consciences, land, liberties, and Earl of D' Esmond stood, at the estates, the faid Earl to the in-1 time of his restraint, charged tent the better to maintain and with Treaton before the Counffrengthen |

The Earls Reply,

That the said Earl of Straf- That the Deputy Falkland

April 5.

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1641.

Anno Christ. 1641.

flrengthen his power, and to cel of Ireland, for practifing abring the people into a difaffection of his Majesty as aforefaid, did ute his Majetties name in the execution of his faid power. And to prevent the subjects of that Realm of all means of complaints to his Majesty, and of redreffe against him and his agents, did iffue a Proclamation bearing date the seventcenth day of September, in the eleventh year of his Majesties Reign, thereby commanding all the Nobility, undertakers and others, who held estates and offices in the faid Kingdom (except fuch as were imployed in his Majesties service, or attending in England by his special command) to make their perfonal refidence in the faid Kingdom of Ireland, and not to depare thence without licence of himfelf. And the faid Earl hath fince iffued other Proclamations to the same purpose, by means whercof the subjects of the said Realm are restrained from seeking relief against the oppressions of the fail Earl, without his licenfe, which Proclamation the faid Earl hath by feveral rigorous wayes, as by fine, impriforment, and otherwife, put in execution on his Majesties subjects, as namely, one -Parry, and others, who came over only to complain of the exorbitances and oppressions of the faid Earl.

Testified by the 'Earl of Defmond, the Lord Roch, Marcattee, and Parry.

gainst the life of one Sir Valentine Coke. That the Lord Roch was then a prisoner for debt in the Caille of Dublin, and therefore incapable of a licenfe. That Parry was not fined for coming over without licence, but for feveral contempts against the Councel-board in Ireland, and that in his fentence ise had but only a catting voice as the Lord Keeper in the Star-chamber.

The XVII. and XVIII. Articles were not infifted up-

#### XIX.

That the faid Earl having taxed and levyed the faid im-Monopolies, and committed the faid oppressions in his Majesties name, and as by his Majestics Royal command, he the faid Earl in May the fifteenth year of his Majesties reign, did of his own authority contrive and land. That he had a Letter unframe a new and unufual oath, by the purport whereof, among many other things, the party taking the faid oath, was to fwear that he should not protest against any of his Majesties Royal commands, but fubmit more than the heinousnesse of themselves in all obedience their offence deserved; yet had thereunto. Which oathhe fo contrived, to enforce the same on the subjects of the Scotish Nation inhabiting in Ireland, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a discontent with his Majestie and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majeflies faid subjects there to take the faid oath; some he grievously fined & imprisoned, and otners he dettroyed and exiled, and namely, the 10, of October, Ann. Dom. 1639. he fined Henry Senard and his wife, who refuled to take the faid oath, five thousand pounds a peece, and their two daughters and James Gray three thousand pounds a peece, and imprisoned them for

The Earls Reply.

That the Oath was not violently enjoyned by him upon the politions, and raifed the faid Irith Scots, but framed in compliance with their own express Petition, which Petition is owned in the Proclamation, as the main impulsive to it. That the same Oath not long after was preferibed by the Councel of Engder his Majeflies own hand, ordering it to be preferibed as a touch-itone of their fidelity. As to the greatnesse of the fine imposed upon sieward, and others, he conceived it was not they petitioned, and submitted the next day, that would wnolly have been remitted.

Anco ( br. p. 1641. 

not paying the faid fines. The faid Henry Stewards wife and daughters, and James Gray, being the Kings liege people of the Scotish Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner; and the faid Earl upon that occasion did declare, that the faid oath did not only oblige them in point of allegiance to his Majetty, and acknowledgement of his supremacy only, but to the Ccremonies and Government of the Church established, or to be established by his Majesties royal Aathority; and faid, that the refuters to obey, he would profecute to the bloud.

XX.

That the faid Earl in the 15. and 16. years of his Majesties reign, and divers years pait, laboured and endevoured to be- Nation Traitors and Relels, no get in his Majestie an ill opinion one proof is produced, and of his Subjects, namely those of though he is hasty in speech, yet the Scotish Nation, and divers was hee never so defective of and fundry times, and especially reason, as to speak so like a mad fince the pacification made by man : for he knew well his Mahis Majesty with his fail sub- jesty was a native of that Kingjects of scotland, in fummer, in the dom, and was confident many 15, year of his Majesties reign, he of that Nation were of as hethe faid Earl did labour & ende- roique Spirits, and as faithful vour to perswade, incite, & pro- and loyal subjects as any the voke his Majesty to an offentive King had. As to the other words war against his said subjects of of rooting out the Scots both Root the Scotish Nation, and the faid and Branch, he conceives a short and endevours hath been and is proved by a fingle teltimony a chief incendiary of the war only, which can make no fuffiand his Subjects of England, the witnesse was very much and the said Subjects of Scot- mittaken, if not worse, for he dedemand made by the Scots in in Iteland, whereas he was able this

The Earls Reply.

That he called all the Scotish Earl, by his counsel, actions, reply may serve, they being and discord between his Majesty cient faith in case of life. Again, land, and hath declared, and pofeth that these words were advised his Majesty, that the spoken the tenth day of Ollober

## The Reign of King Charles.

this Parliament were a fuffici- (to evidence, he was at that time ent cause of war against them. in England, and had been so neer The faid Earl having formerly a month before. expressed the height and rancor of his mind towards his subjects of the Scotish Nation, viz. the tenth day of October, in the fifteenth year of his Majesties reign he faid that the Nation of the Scots were Rebels, and Traytors; and he being then about to come to England, he then further faid, that if it pleafed his Mafter (meaning his Majefty)to fend him back again, l.e. would root out of the faid Kingdom (meaning the Kingdom of Ireland ) the Scotish Nation both root and branch: Some Lords, and others who had taken the faid oath in the precedent Article only excepted. And the faid Earl hath caused divers of the faid Ships and goods of the Scots to be stayed, seised, and molested, to the intent to set on the faid War.

The XXI. and XXII. Articles were not urged.

#### XXIII.

That upon the thirteenth day of April last, the Parliament of England met, and the Commons House (then being the representative Body of all the Commons in the Kingdom) did according to the trust reposed in them, enter into debate & confideration of the great grievances of this Kingdom, both it respect of Religion, and the publick Libertie of the Kingdom; and his Majesty referring chiefly

anno Corilti 1641. WW

247

The Earles Reply.

That he was not the principal cause of dissolving the last Parliament, for before ne came to the Counfel Table, it was voted by the Lords to demand 12. Subjidies, and that Sir Henry Vare was ordered to demand no leffe; but he coming in the interim, he perfivaded the Lords to vote it again, declaring to his Majesty (then present) and them, the danger of the breach of the Parliament: wncreupon it was again'

1641.  $\sim$ 

chiefly to the faid Earl of Straf- again voted, That it the Parliaford, and the Archbishop of ment would not grant twelve Canterbury, the ordering and Subfidies, Sir Henry thould dedisposing of all matters concer- scend to eight, and rather than ning the Parliament, He the fail, to fix. But Sir Henry not faid Earl of Strafford, with the affillance of the faid Archbith. did procure his Majesty by sun- batement, or going lower; that, dry speeches and mellages, to urge the faidCommons house to enter into fome refolution for his Majesties supply, for maintenance of his war against his mar the chief occasion of the Subjects of Scotland, before any breach thereof, was, as he concourfe was taken for the relief of Leivel, Sir Henry Vane. He; the oreat and preffing grievanas, wherewith this king lom Table he advited the King to an 3 was then afflicted. Wher inpon, offensive war against the Scots; a demand was then made from But it was not untill all fair his Majesty, of twelve Submilies, for the release of Sinp-meney only; and while the failt Commons then affembled (with expressions of great affection to his ro vote one, as the other. Lastly, Majetty and his ference) were in debate and confideracion of bare opinions; and opinions, if fome fupply, before refolution pertinacionfly maintained, may by them made, He the faid Earl make an Heretique, but never of Strafford, with the help and lean a Traitor. affiftance of the faid Archbithop, did procure his Majelty to diffolve the late Parliament, upon the fifth day of May last: and upon the fame day, the faid Earl of strafford did treacheroufly, falfely, and malicioufly endevour to incense his Majesty against his loving and faithful Subjects, who had been members of the faid House of Commons, by telling his Majesty, they had denied to supply him. And afterward upon the fame, did treacheroufly and wickedly counfel and advise his Majesty to this effect, viz. That having

observing his instructions, demanded tivelve only, without a-! the height of this demand, urged . the Parliament to deny, and their denial moved his Majesty to diffolve the Parliament : fo conicfleth, that at the Councelmeanes to prevent a war had been first attempted. Again, others were as much for a defenfive war, and it might be as free votes at a Councel-board are but

tryed the affections of his people, he was loofe and alfolved from all Rules of government, and was to doe every thing that power would admit, and that his Majesty had tryed all mayes, and was refused, and bould be acquitted both of God and man, and that he had an Army in Ireland (meaning the Army above-mentioned, confifting of Papills, his dependents, as is aforefaid) which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdom to obedience.

The XIV. Article not urged.

XV.

That not long after the diffolution of the said last Parliament ( viz. In the months of May and June) he the faid Earl of Strafthe Sheriffs of feveral Counties the Tax of Ship-money, and he the Ship-money-divers of which King to take, what the Judges were threatned by him to be had declared was by law his fued in the Star-chamber; and jown. He confessed that upon afterwards by his advice were refutal of to just a fervice, the fued in the Star-chamber, for better to quicken the Citizens not levying the same; and divers to the payment of Ship-money, of his Majesties loving subjects he said, they deserved to be were fent for and imprisoned fined. Which words might perby his advice, about that and o- haps be incircumfpectly delivether illegal payments.

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The Earls reply.

. That there was a prefent neceffity for money; that all the Counfel-board had voted with, yea before him. That there was ford did advise the King to goe then a sentence in the Staron rigorously in levying of the chamber upon the opinion of all Ship-money, and did procure the Judges, for the legality of to be fent for, for not levying thought he might advise the red, but he conceives cannot a-And a great loan of a hundred | mount to Treason, especially thousand pounds was demanded when no ill consequence followof the City of London, and the ed upon them; and it would ren-Lord Maior and the Aldermen, der men in a fad condition, if and the Sheriffs of the faid for every hafty word, or opini-City, were often fent for by his on given in Counfel, they should

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advice to the Counfel Table, be fencenced as Traitors. But to give an account of their pro- that he faid it were well for the ceedings in raising of Ship-mo- Kings service, if some of the Alnev, and furthering of that loan, dermen were hanged up, be and were required to certifie the utterly denieth, ( as well be might, names of fuch Initabitants of the the words be nig (poken by the Lord faid City as were fit to lend, Cottington, Nor is it proved which they with much humility by any, but Alderman Garway, refusing to do, he the said Earl of who is at best but a single testi-Strafford did use these or the like mony, and therefore no sufficispeeches: viz. That they defer- ent evidence in case of life. ved to be put to Fine and Ranfom, and that so good would be done with them, till an example were made of them, and that they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen banged up.

#### XXVI.

That the faid Earl of strafford by his wicked counfel ha- to evidence the two first partiving brought his Majesty into culars, but hears of none. For excessive charges without any the following words, he confefjust cause, he did in the moneth sed, probably they might escape of Iuly last ( for the support of the door of his lips. Nor did the faid great charges ) counsel he think it much amisse, conand approve two dangerous and fidering their present posture, wicked Projects : viz.

To seise upon the Bullion and the Money in the Mint.

Coin with the mixtures of inftantaletter from the Earl of Braffe.

one hundred and thirty thou- order to levie money by Solfand pounds, which was then in diers. This he only told the Lord the Mint, and belonging to di- Cottington standing by, but vers Merchants, strangers and made not the least application others, to be seised on and stayed thereof to the English affairs. to his Majesties use. And when divers Merchants of London, owners of the faid Bullion, came

#### The Earls reply.

That he expected fome proofs to call that faction Rebels. As for the laft words objected against him in that Article, he laid, that being in conference with some of the Londoners, And to imbase his Majesties there came to his hands at that Leicester, then at Paris, wherein were the Gazets inclosed, rela-And accordingly he procured ting that the Cardinal had given

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to his house to ler him understand the great mischief that course would produce here, and in other parts, what prejudice it would be to the Kingdom, by diferediting the Mint, and hindring the importation of Bullion: he the faid Earl told them, that the City of London dealt undurifully and unthankfully with his Majesty, and that they were more ready to help the Rebel, than to help his Majesty; and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themfelves; and that it was the course of other Princes, to make use of fuch monies to ferve their occafions.

The Reign of King Charles.

And when in the fame month of July the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers reasons against the imbasing of the said money, he told them that the French King did use to send Commissaries of Horse with Commission to fearch into mens estates, and to peruse their accompts, that so they may know what to levy of them by force; which they did accordingly levy: and turning to the Lord Cottington, then present, said, That this was a point worthy his Lord hips consideration.

#### XXVII.

That in or about the month and being at rork did in the the County; and therefore month L12 the

The Earls Reply.

That his Majesty comming of August last, he was made to rork, it was thought necessary, Lieutenant General of all his in regard the enemy was upon Majesties forces in the Nor- the borders, to keep the Trained thern parts against the Scots, bands on foot for defence of Alano ( brifti 1641.

Anno Christs 1641. 

authority, and without any law- to the Freeholders in Torkeshire, full warrant, impose a Tax on to declare what they would doe his Majesties Subjects in the for their own defence; that they County of rork, of 8. d. per freely offered a months pay, diem, for maintenance of every | nor did any man grudge against Souldier of the Trained-bands it. Again, it was twice propounof that County, which fums of ded to the Great Counfel of money he caused to be levyed Peers at rock, that the King apby force. And to the end to proved it as a just and necescompel his Majeitics Subjects lary Act, and none of the Counout of fear and terrour to yeeld fel contradicted it, which he conto the payment of the fame, He ceived feemed a tacit allowance did declare that he would com- of it. That though his Majesty mit them that refused the pay- load not given him special order ment thereof, and the Souldiers therein, nor the Gentry had dethould be facisfyed out of their sired it, yet he conceived he had effates; and they that refused it, power enough to impose that were in very little better condi- Tax by virtue of his Commiftion than of high Treaton.

#### XXVIII.

That in the moneths of September and October last, he the faid Earl of strafford being certified of the Scotish Army coming into the Kingdom, and he the faid Earl of Strafford, being Lieutenant General of his Ma-Newcastle, as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to malicious defire to ingage the that it was fortified, which also King-

month of September, by his own the King directed him to write tion. But he never faid, That the refusers should be guilty of little leffe than high Treafon, which being proved by Sir william Ingram, he was but a fingle tell imony, and one who had formerly mittaken himself in what he had deposed.

### The Earls Reply.

That he admired how in the third Article he being charged as an Incendiary against the Scots, is now in this Article made their confederate, by betraying New-castle into their hands. But to answer more parjefties Army, did not provide l'ticularly, he faid, that there was for the defence of the Town of at New-castle the 24 of August 10. or 12000 foot, and two thousand horse, under the combe loft, that so he might the mand of the Lord Conway, and more incense the English against | Sir Iacob Astly, and that Sir 3.1the Scots. And for the same cob had written to him concerwisked purpose, and out of a ning the Town of New-castle, bloudy war, he did write to the the River of Time, his Majelly Lord Conway the General of the fent special directions to the horse, and under the said Earls Lord Commay to secure it, and command, that he should fight therefore that Lord is more (as with the Scotish Army at the he conceives ) responsable for passage over the Tyne, what that miscarriage than himself. foever thould follow, notwithftanding that the faid Lord Conwayhad formerly by Letters informed him the faid Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his command, was not of force fufficient to incounter the Scots, by which advice of his, he did contrary to the duty of his place betray his Majesties Army then under his command, to apparent danger and lofs.

Kingdomes of England and was never under his particular Scotland in a Nationall and care, and for the passage over

Aireo Cirrefti 1641.

The Earl having thus answered every particular Article against him, it was moved by the House of Commons, That if he had any thing to fay further in his Defence, he should do it presently; whereupon he defired time until the next morning, which was, though difficultly, granted him. The next morning the Houses met, but the Lieutenant of the Tower appeared without his prisoner, certifying that the Earl was taken with a terrible fit of the Stone that night, and continued still so ill, as he could not ftir abroad without danger of his life. The Commons thought this excuse but counterfeit, meerly to protract the time, but the Lords were more inclinable to credit the relation, yet an order was agreed upon between them both, that if the Earl came not the next day, they should proceed not withstanding his dis-appearance, and that in the interim, some of the Upper House should refort to the Tower to see in what condition he was. These Lords comming in the afternoon, found nature and medicamentall applications had to far prevailed over his difease, as gave affurance of his ability to adventure forth next day without prejudice to his health; and what elfe fhould difmay him? for to every Article of his accufation he had given, as he hoped, so apposite, so full an antiver, as confident he was, he should not be found culpable within the sphere of Treason, and offences of a lower orb were beneath his trepidation. But (whether it was that his hope, elevated to the highest

Anno Cor. 11 1641.

New proofs offered against the Earl.

pitch, might minister the more to the grandure of his fall, or for some other cause unknown) the Commons had kept dormant, and in referve, their evidence of most fatal and pernicious qualification, which the next day April the 10. the Earl appearing at the Bar, they defired liberty to produce. Then the Earl craved the same freedom for himself, concerning some testimonies not yet exhibited on his behalf. Upon this enfued a hot contest betwist the two Houses, the Lords conceiving that by the common difpensation of equity, the accused should have equal allowance to superinduct new proofs, as well as the accusers, or else that all further teltimony should be waved on both sides. This fense of the Lords was so vastly differing from the minde of the Commons, as up they rose in much discontent, not so much as appointing the day of their next meeting there. So that Monday the 12. the Nobles and Commons fat in their diffinct and proper Houses. In the Lower, Mr. Pym produced a Copy of some notes taken by Secretary Vane, of certain opinions delivered at the Counsel Table, May the 5. 1640, being the day of the last Parliaments dissolution, the discovery faid to be

Secret, Times notes how difcovered.

Secretary Vane, upon fome occasion, delivered to his fonne Sir Heary Vane the Key of a Cabinet, to fetch some papers laid mercin. In this Cabinet young Sir Heary Vane finds a key of another Cabinet, which he openeth, and there accidentally lights monthese notes, who presently gives thereof an account to

This produced a conference that afternoon with the Lords, at which Mr. Phn re-minds the Peers of the Commons request on Saturday laid, concerning fome supplemental proofs they defired to offer in the Earl of Straffords cause; he acquainted them that the proofs related to the 23. Article, and were founded upon the Notes which he then produced, and that the Commons moved their Lordthips to order that the Earl might be fent for the next day, to make his defence at the Bar at westminfler-ball. Which being condescended to by the Nobles, and April the 13. the Earl appearing, the Notes were brought forth and read, the Title whereof was;

No danger of a War with Scotland, if Offen-sive, not Defensive.

Then followed the Opinions interlocutory and by way of Dialogue. K. C. H. How

K. C. H. How can we undertake Offensive war, if we have no mire miney ?

L. L. IR. Borrow of the City 100000. l. Go on rigoroully to leavie Ship-money. Your Majest having tried the affection of your people, ou are absolved and loofe from all rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit . Your Majesty have tryed all mayes, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and Man . And you have an Army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce THIS Kingdom to obedience, for I am covfident the Scots cannot hold out five | He antivereth, months.

L. ARCH. You have tryed all wayes, and have alwayes been denied, it is now lawfull to take it by force.

L. COTT. Leagues abroad there may be made for the defence of the Kingdom. The Lower House are and death. weary of the King and Church. All; wayes shall be just to raise money by in this inevitable necessity, and are to dubious; upon two examinabe used being lawful.

any Defensive War.

Lords, put the Commission of Array on foot, and if any of them stir, we will make them [mart.

The Earls reply.

That being a Privic County The Notes fellor, ne thought he might have themfelves. as free a vote as another; that his opinion was no other than what he thought the prefent exigent requirelly that it were hard meafure for opinions or discouries refulting from their occasions, and at fuch departes, to be profecuted under the notion of Treason. And whereas the main dist of this accufacion received derivation from his fuggested faying, The King had an Army in Ireland, which he might imploy here to reduce This Kingdom;

First, That it is proved by the folitary testimony of one man (Secretary Fane) which is not of validity enough in Law to create faith in a matter of Debt, much leffe in point of life

Secondly, That the Seretaries Deposition was exceeding ; tions he could not remember a-L. ARCH. For an Offensive, not ny fuch words, & the third time his testimony was not posi-L. L. IR. The Townis full of tive, but that I spake those words, or the like; and words may be very like in found, yet differ much in fente, as in the words of my charge, kere for there, and that for this, puts an end to the controversie.

Thirdly, there were prefent at this debate but eight Privie Counfellors in all, two whereof ( the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Secretary windebank) are not to be produced; Sir HenAimo Chrift 1641.

1641.

Anno Christi 1641. them: then there remain four fill to give in evidence, viz. The Marquelle Hamilton, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Tresfurer, and the Lord Costington; who have all declared upon their Honours, that they never heard me speak those words, may nor the like.

Laftly, suppose (though I grant it not) that I spake those words, yet cannot the word This rationally imply England, because the debate was concerning Scotland, as is yeelded on all hands, because England was not out of the way of obedidience, as the Earl of Clare well observed, and because there never was any the least intention of landing the Irish Army in England, as the soresaid Lords of the Privy Counsel are able to attest.

The Earl having delivered his Answer to this Additional Proof, the Lord Steward told him, that, if he had any thing to fay further in his own Defence, he thould proceed, because the Court defired to prepare matters for speedy Judgement, whereupon he made a summary repetition of the several parcels of his former Defence, which ended, he continued his Speech thus.

## My Lords,

The conclusion of the Earls Defence.

There remaines another kind of Treason that I should be guilty of, for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Lawes of the Land. That this should be Treason together, that is not Treason in one part; a Treason accumulative, that when all will not do it alone, being weaved up with others, it should do it, seems very strange. Under savour, my Lords, I conceive there

is neither Statute nor Common Law, which doth declare this endevouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land to be high Treason; for I have been diligent in the inquiry, as you know it deeply concerns me. and could never discover it. It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law, that cannot bee shewn; for it is a rule in Sir Edward Coke. De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem est ratio. Ihelu! VVhere hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years, without smoke, to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a law, to be punished by a law subsequent to the Fact, is extreme hard; what man can be lafe, if this be admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set by which we should know this Offence. no admonition by which we should avoid it. If a man passe the Thames in a boat, and split himself upon an Anchor, and no Buoy be floting to discover it, he who oweth the Anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a Buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now where is this marke, where the token upon this Crime to declare it to be high Treason? My Lords, be pleased to give that regard to the Peerage of England, as never to expose your selves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of Lawes. If there must be a tryal of wits, let the subject matter be of somewhat else, than the lives and honours of Peers. It will bee wildome for your felves, for your posterity, and for the whole Kingdom to cast into the fire these bloudy and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary Treason, as the Primitive Christians did their Books of curious Arts, and betake your selves to the plain letter of the Law and Statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not Treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the art of Killing than our Mm

Auro Chrijts 1641.

fore fathers. It is now full 240 yeares, since any man was touched for this alleged Crime to this height before my self, let us not awaken these sleeping Lyons to our destructions, by raking up a few musty Records, that have lain by the walls to many ages, forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes; for my other fins be-flave me, not sor Treason ; Let not a president be desired from me, so disadvantageous as this will be in the consequence to the whole Kingdom; do nor, through me, wound the interest of the Common-wealth. And howsoever these Gentlemen say they speak for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and show the inconveniencies and mischiefs which will fall upon it. For, as it is said in the Statute 1. of Henry 4. No man will know what to doe, or fay, for fear of such penalties. Doe not put, my Lords, such difficulties upon Ministers of State, that men of Wifedome, of Honour of Fortune, may not with cheerfulnesse and safety be imployed for the publique; if you weigh and measure them by graines and scruples, the publique affaires of the Kingdome will lie waste, no man will meddle with them who has any thing to lose. My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a Saint in heaven hath lest me. this he stopt awhile, offering up some tears to ber ashes. ] What I forfeit my felf is nothing, but that my in difcretion should extend to my posterity it woundeth me You will pardon my infirmity, to the very soul. something I should have added, but am not able 3 therefore let it passe. And now, my Lords, for my felf, I have beene by the bleffing of almighty God taught, that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the eternal weight of Glory which And so my Lords, even so, shall be revealed hereafter. with

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with all tranquility of mind, I freely submit my self dim Christi to your judgement; and whether that judgement be of life, or death,

Te Deum laudamus.

The Earl had no fooner ended, than Mr. Glya, and after him Mr. Pym undertakes him, endevouring to render his offences as odious as possibly they could; but their replications being fuller stuft with Rhetorical Declamations, than Logical Conclusions, figni-

fyed little as to judicial proceedings.

Matters of Fact being transacted, the Commons were next | TheCommons engaged to justifie their charge by Law, which was a point very intricate and difficult; for his crimes were not as yet discovered to be specifically comprehended under the letter of any Statute declaratory of Treason; nor did that Statute of 251 of Edward the third (which is the Index to all matters of Treason) directly charge him. But that Statute had a sulve adnext to it, whereby it was provided that, because all particular Treasons could not be then defined, therefore what the Parliament Should declare to be Treason in time to come, sould be panished as Treason: and within the compass of this Salvo they doubted not to bring him, and to cut him off by Bill of Attainder. Hereupon the Eurl moved that he might be allowed to plead by his Councel, which the Nobles thought they could not in justice deny, but the Commons being of another perswasion, would not, till after three dayes conference with the Lords about it, affent thereunto. But at length the 16, the Pecers prevailed, and it was agreed that the Earl with his Councel should have liberty to come next day,

restrained: Saturday, April the 17. The Earl with his Councel appeared | The Earl anat the Bar, being Mr. Lane the Princes Atturney, Mr. Gardiner Recorder of London, Mr. Loe, Mr. Lightfoot. Mr. Lane spake first, and insisted upon the Statute. 25 of Ethering, saving it was a Declarative Law, and fuch are not to be interpreted by way of confequence, equity, or construction, but by the expresse letter only. Again it was a penal Law, and fuch can admit of no constructions or inferences; for penalties are to ensored the keeping of known, not of conjectural and dubious Laws. Then he came to the Salvo, and affirmed, that in the fixt year of Henry the 4. a Petition was preferred in Parliament by the Nobility to have all Treason limited by Statute; that in that Parliament Chap. 10. an Act was made upon that Petition, That that Salvo Mm 2

and they to plead fuch particulars only, to which they flould be

261 Anno Christ

Anno Christ 1541. 

should be holden repealed in all times to come, and that nothing should be effeemed Treason, but what was literally contained within the Statute 25. of Edward 3. The Recorder faid, he could add no more than what the former Councel had spoken for matter of Law, but if their Lordships would state unto him some further Questions, he was ready to give his resolution according to his best ability. Upon which motion the Lords and Commons adjourned, not profixing any time for their

next meeting.

He is voted by the Commons guilty of high Trea-

Nor was it of much import, for the Commons were refolved that day should set a total period to the Earles defence, and next to freed their Bill of Attainder, which was debated the 19. and the Earl voted guilty of high Treason upon the evidence of Sir Henry Vane and his notes, but the final and decretory vote past not against him, till the 21. upon the reading the Bill engroft, at which time they went to the Poll, and took the names of the diffenters, the total amounting to 59, whereof the Lord Dieby appeared most eminent, having spake much to the difpleasure of the House in that particular. The Bill being passed the Lower House, long they would not let it rest there but that afternoon transmitted it to the Lords, who being flower paced in that concernment, were reminded of it the 24. with a defire they would nominate a time certain for the reading thereof, who returned answer, that on Monday and Tuesday next they would not fail to do it. And they were as good as their words, but it seemed to them so perplext a businesse, and started so many scruples, as they were enforced to request a conference with the Commons to resolve them; whereupon the Lowerhouse promised that Mr. St-John the Kings Sollicitor should Thursday the 29. justifie the Bill by Law, and give their Lordthips an account of the reasons impelling them to that mode of proceeding; ordering also that the Earl of Strafford should then be present.

While these things were in agitation, the Parliament had addrest themselves to his Majesty in way of Perition for three

things.

The Commons Petition 2gainst Papists.

First For removing of all Papists from Court Secondly For dis-arming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.

Thirdly, For dis-banding the Irish Army.

To all which the King the 28 delivered answer contractly thus:

The Kings Anfwer.

For the first, they all knew what legal trust

the Crown hath in that particular therefore he shall not need to say any thing to give them assurance that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal.

The Reign of King Charles.

For the second, he is content it shall be done

according to Law.

For the last, he had entred into consultation about it, and found many difficulties therein, and he doth so wish the dis-banding of all Armies, as be did conjure them speedily, and heartily to joyn with him in dis-banding those two in England:

The next day the Earl being brought to the Bar; the Bill of Attainder was read; and Mr. St-John opened the several branches thereof, affirming it to be legal, by many Presidents, and Acts of Parliaments, which he quoted. What effects the Sollicitors arguments wrought, either in rendring the Earls Treasons more luminous and difcernible, or in removing the former dyfopiy and dimnesse of the Peers understanding, I am not able to say; but infallibly certain it is, they thenceforward shewed greater propenfity towards the Earls condemnation, and clearly discovered it in their House the next day, whereof the King having notice thought it high time for him to interpose (lest silence should make him accessary to a fact so much condemned by his own conscience) and calling both Houses together May the 1. said.

# My Lords and Gentlemen,

I had no intention to have spoken to you of Speech in dethis businesse to day, which is the great businesse Earle of of the Earl of Strafford, because I would do nothing which might hinder your occasions. But now it comes to passe that I must of nece sity have

part

Acar Child

part in the judgement, I think it most necessary to declare my conscience therein.

I am sure you know I have been present at the hearing of this great cause, from one end to the other; and I must tell you that in my conscience I

cannot condemn him of high Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this businesse, I am sure you will not expect it; a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince, yet must I tell you three truths, which I am sure no man can tell so well as my felf.

First, That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish Army into England, nor ever

was advised by any body so to do.

Secondly, That there was never any debate before me, either in publique Councell, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion

of them.

Thirdly, That I was never counselled by any to alter the least of any of the Lawes of England, much less to alter all the Lawes. May I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent as to move me to it. For if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a mark upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it, they being ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.

I desire rightly to be understood, for though I tell Anno Christi 1641. 

tell you in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high Treason, yet can I not clear him of misdemeanours: therefore I hope you may find out a may to satisfie justice, and your own fears, and not oppresse my conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender conscience is, and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie my People I would do great matters; but in this of conscience, neither fear, nor any other respect what soever, shall ever make me goe a-

gainst it.

Certainly I have not deserved so ill of this Parliament at this time, that they should presse me in this tender point, therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it. It ay I must confesse for mis-demeanours I am so clear in them, that, though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will (her you, that I think my Lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me, or the Commonwealth, in any place of truft, no not so much as a Constable. Therefore I leave it to you, my Lords, to find out some such way as to bring me out of thu straight, and keep your selves and the Kingdom from such inconveniences.

This Speech of his Majesty, as any other not formed of ingredients deleterious, was ill rellisht by both Houses, so that they went away in much discontent.

The next day, May the 2. being Sunday, was the marriage The Prince of folemnized between the Prince of Orange (who came to London april the 20.) and the Lady Mary, at white-hall, with agreeable Mary.

The late difgust taken at the Kings last Speech, was not im-

Anno Christ. 1641.

 $\sim$ A Tumule in B'estminster crying for Ju flice aga nft the Earl.

A Protestation framed by the Commons.

A Bill prothe continuation of the Parliament,

manent, it flayed not in the Parliament, but became transfent and passed to the lower Row; and when the seement part of the body politique is once stirred, it soon flies up to the disturbance of the whole: so it fared with some tumultuous Citizens, May the 3. who male-content at what the King had faid, came down that morning to welminster, to the number of five or fix thousand, most armed with Swords, demanding juffice of the Lords against the Earl of Strafford, complaining also that their trade was decayed, and they like to perish for want of bread, because justice was delayed. Their special application was to the Lord Chamberlain, who went out of his Coach, and with much adoe and large promifes appealed their fury; nevertheleffe to strike the greater terrour into all fuch as did not adhere to their party, they posted upon the gate of westminster, a Catalogue of those whose suffrages were for the Earles acquital, under the Title of Straffordians.

That day intimation was given to the House of Commons of some practices in the North to distract the English Army, and to render the Parliament difpleafing to them; to en-counter, and as a defensative against which, they fell presently upon consideration of a Protestation : for maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England; the power and privileges of Parliament, and liberty of the Subject.

This Protestation being formed, was the next day read in the Lower House, and generally taken by all the members; then was it fent up to the Lords, who took it also, and an order was made for the printing and dispersing it over all England.

May the 5. there was an Offer made in the House of Commons by one of the Knights of Lancashire, that he would procure his Majesty the loan of 650000. I. untill such time as the Subfidies should be raised, if his Majesty would be pleased to passe a Bill that the Parliament might not be adjourned, prorogued or diffolved, without the confent of both Houses, until the general grievances of this Kingdom were redreft. This motion occasioned a great debate, and seemed to be of that importance, as prefently order was given for a bill to be drawn up in pursuance of it.

That evening the Lords fent a meffage to the Commons, ccrtifying that they had confidered, and confulted upon the Bill of Attainder, but found it the fafest course to lay the same aside, because it brought the King in as Judge, wherefore they agreed to fall upon the feveral Articles of his Accufation, and would the next day fond them their final resolution.

The next morning, May the 6. 26. Lords of 45. then prefent,

# The Reign of King Charles.

being directed by the opinions of the Judges, voted the Earl of Strafford guilty of high Treason, upon two Articles; the 15. for levying of monies in Ireland by force in a warlike manner, and upon the 19. for impoling an Oath upon the subjects in Ircland, and gave thereof freedy information to the House of Commons, who were then exceeding butte about the Bill for the continuation of the Parliament, which the next day being compleatly voted, was fent to the Lords for their conjunction with them, withall requesting they would hasten it with all convenient speed, in regard they defired that and the Bill of Attainder might be figned together.

In this concernment the Lords needed no great (tinulation of refolves, the defign was plaufible, no criticitines of law to be ! discust, no difficulties to be contended with, so that May the 8. they were in flate to acquaint the Commons that they fully concurred with them in these Votes also; whereupon a conference enfued, at which it was refolved that fome Lords thould be dispatched with those Bills to his Majesty, and to request his Answer: which was accordingly done, and the King told them they should receive his Answer on Monday follow-

The Sunday intervening was no sabbath, no day of Rest to the King, who never found the Royal office fo presse upon, yea so oppresse him as at that instant; infinitely was he distracted between a People and a Conscience, both male-content, both equally clamorous, one for Mercy, the other for Justice; his passion was most intense for both; please both he could not, and to displease either pierced his very foul. In this anxiety, in this perplexity of thoughts, he fends that forenoon for five Bishops; Four (viz. London, Durham, Lincoln and Carlile) appeared, the fifth, the Lord Primat of Armagh, then in the Pulpit in the church of Covent-Garden, when the Meffenger came craved excuse until he had dispatched that sacred Exercise. The Afternoon he spent in consultation with the Lords of his Privy Councel and the Judges upon the fame account : at the Evening the Bishops, now five, were called in, and the great Question re-enforced, the legal latitude of the Kings mercy to lave, nor the Reason or expediency of State, which might urge the contrary, were not fo much as offered to their Judgement, nor to their advice: these were already stated by the Counsel and Judges. The Bishops were only to resolve whether or not the King might, his conscience intire, passe the Bill against the Earl. The Bithops determined thus, That the matters of Fast and Law were to stand apart. For the first, his Majesties presence at all the proccedings might enable him to paffe his judgement, and if his judgement informed him the Earl was guiltless, he might not in conscience condemn him. For the last, being matter of Law, Nnwhat

249

dino Christi 1641.

The Earl voted by the Lords guilty of high Trea-

The two Bils tendred to the King.

He is much perplext what answer to 1c-

267

Samo Christi

1641.

Ano ( heigh. 1641.

The Harl himfelf defices

pais the Bill.

the King to

what was Treaton, what not, the Judges they faid were obliged by their Oaths to direct him. This was the total result of their joynt Opinions. There was indeed a writing put into his Majestics hand by the Bishop of Lincoln, but what the contents thereof were, he never imparted to his other associates. Thus the Bishops transmitting his Majesty to the Judges, and they having sormerly declared the Earl was, upin the whole matter, guity, his Majesty was partly perswaded, though not fully convinced, to passe the Bill.

But the motive Paramount and superiour to all was a Letter he received that very day from the Earl himself, wherein he thus

concludes.

SIR,

(To set your Majesties conscience at liberty) I do most humbly befeech you, for the preventing of such mischiefs as may happen by your refulal, to passe the Bill. By this means to remove, praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but I confesse this unfortunate Thing forth of the way towards that bleffed agreement which God ( I trust) shall for ever establish betwixt you and your Subjects. Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides: To a willing man there is no injury done. And as by Gods grace I forgive all the world with a columnels and meeknels of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul; so, Sir, I can give up the life of this world with all cheerfulnets imaginable, in the just acknowledgement of your exceeding favours, and only beg, that in your goodness you would vouchafe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor Son and his three Sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or lesse guilty of this death. God preserve your Majesty.

> Your Majesties most humble and faithful Subject and Servant,

> > STRAFFORD.

Monday

Monday May the 10, in the morning his Majetty figned a Commission to the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Privie Seal, the Lord Chamberlain and others for the passing of the two Bils, one for the continuation of the Parliament during the pleature of the two Houses. The other was the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford; but this with an Vinam nescirem literas. Never any act past from him with greater reluctancy at the present, or which he bewailed afterward with greater re-morse of conscience, then the frailty of that Concession. True it is, he had all the outward motives to it that could be withed, the vehement importunity of his Nobles, the opinion of the grave Judges, a pretended urgent necessity in order to the satisfaction of his people, yea and the Earls Petition; But what were all thefe while his confcience remained unfatisfied? Princes may, and ought to hold intelligence, to keep correspondence with their subjects; but be their advice as found as may be, yet still must it be Le Roy, not Le Veuple veult; the Counsel may be theirs, the Command must be the Soveraigns. Minatory affronts must not subdue, nor compliance with their subjects perfwade them to concessions repugnant to the dictates of their own consciences. It was excellently said by another Man, not by another King, That it is a bad exchange to wound a mans on n conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; a maxime so infallibly true, that the first experiment we have in sacred writ of the contrary being acted by the first of Ifraels Kings, cost him no lesse than the loffe of his Kingdom, and all upon that folitary account, because, He feared the People, and obeyed their voice. So fatal is it for a Prince fometimes to refign a complacence to popular lust.

As his Majesties reflexes upon this concession, were never without great regret: fo many behold his passing the concomitant Bill not a little destructive to his Regal interest, and consequently to his person, as without which the Parliament could never have been in state, and capacity to act what they did against him. On the other fide it was argued by others; That his Majesty was not worsted, but rather a gamer by that grant; That it raised in the Subject still further affurance of his clear intentions to the commongood; That it precluded the entertainment of finister thoughts against him; That it impowered the Parliament only to fit during pleasure; That his denyal would have generated ill boding jeloufies, and turbulent animofities; That had it come to the pitch, and had his Majesty endevoured to dissolve the Assembly, probably the Parliament would have difputed his power, and have afferted it as incident to the office of fo great Truftees of the Kingdome, still to continue Session in times menacing the ruine of the Kingdom. Did not the late Parliament of Scotland

Nn 2

'1 Sam. 15.

Censures upon his passing the Bill for the Parliaments continuation.

politively

269 . 1:r:o Christi

1641.

Amo Christi 1641.

politively declare as much, in the concernment of that Kingdom? And Scotland it is well known gave the rule to England in most of ner late actions.

The Kings compliance with his people, and acting yesterday to the extremity of Justice, could not alter his more natural disposition to Mercy, he had ftill a passion, most vehement for her; and was resolved upon all occasions to act in favour of it; hereupon he this day May the 11, wrote to the Lords this Letter, the bearer whereof was no meaner person than the Prince of wales.

## My Lords,

The Klegs Letter in benali of the

I did yesterday satisfie the Iustice of the Kingdome by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford. But Mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King, as Iustice, I desire in some measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in close imprisonment; yet so, that if he ever make the least offer to escape; or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any fort of publique bufiness, especially with me, either by message or Letter it shall cost him his life without further processe. This if it may be done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment to me.

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, who is of all your House most dear unto me: So I desire that by conference you will endevour to give the House of Com-

mons

mons contentment likewife, affuring you that the exercise of Mercy is no more pleasing to me, then to see both Houses of Parliament confent for my fake, that I should moderate the feverity of the Law in so important a Case.

I will not fay that your complying with me in this my intended mercy, shall make mee more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful in granting your just grievances. But if no lesse then his life can satisfie my people, I must say Fiat Justitia. Thus again recommending the confideration of my intentions to you, I rest

## Your unalterable

And affectionate friend,

Charles R.

If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

Upon

Acres Clr 6 1641.

Upon the receit of this from his Majesty, the Lords exprest themselves the fame day as followeth.

## May the 11. 1641.

TieLadsex. p cilian conlequent to this Letter.

His Letter all written with the Kings own hand, we the Peers this day received in Parliament, delivered by the hands of the Prince. lt was twice read in the House, and after serious, but sad consideration, the Houle resolved presently to send twelve of the Peers, messengers to the King, humbly to signifie that neither of the two intentions exprest in the Letter, could with duty in us, or without danger to his confort the Queen, and all the young Princes their Children, be possibly admitted. Which being accomplained, and more expressions offered, His Majesty suffered no more words to come from us, but out of the fullnelle or his heart to the observance of Justice, and for the contentment of his people, told us, that what he intended by his Letter was with an If, If it may be done without discontentment to his people. If it cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, Fiat Justitia.

My other intention proceeding out of Charity for a few dayes respite, was upon certain information that his Estate was so distra-Eted that it necessarily required some few days respite for settlement thereof.

Whereunto the Lords answered, their purpose was to be luters to his Majesty for favour to be shewed to his innocent Children, And if himself had made any provision for them, that the same might hold. This was well pleasing to his Majesty, who hereupon departed from the lords. At his Majesties departure, we offered up into his hands the Letter it self which he had sent. But he pleased to say, What I have written to you, Ishali

# The Reign of King Charles.

Anno Christ 1641.

271

be content it be registred by you in your House. In it you see my minde, I hope you will use it to mine ho-

This, upon return of the Lords from the King, was prefently reported to the House by the Lord Privic Seal.

Wednesday May the 12. was appointed to give the fatal pe- | The Earl riod to the Life of this most unhappy Earl. He was conveyed brought to the from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the Trained Scaffold. from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the Trained bands. Before him went the Marthals men, next the Sheriffes Officers with halberts, then the Warders of the Tower, then the Earls Gentleman Usher bare-headed, and next him the Earl himself accompanied with the Primate of Armagh and others. Upon his first comming forth being to passe near the Archbishops lodging (who stood at the window waiting for his approach) he lifted up his eyes, and espying the Archbishop, made low obeisance towards him, saying withall, My Lord your prayers and your blessing. The Archbishop had scarce ability to lift up his hands and heart in the apprecation, so soon did extremity of passion strike him into a leipothymic and swounding fit. This was thought by some an argument of too much pulillanimity in fo grave a Christian; but the Archbishop said, he doubted not but when his own turn came, God would fo strengthen him that he should tast that bitter cup with a most Christian

The Earl proceeding further, and the paffage more thronged with people, he heard a great noise amongst the crowd, demanding, which is he ? with that, his countenance all composed to meeknesse, off he puts his hat, and faid, I am the man good people, not shewing the least emotion of mind at the Que-

Being brought to the Scaffold he address his Speech to the Lord Primates fummarily to this effect;

# My Lord,

I am come hither by the good will and His last speech.
pleasure of the Almighty, to pay that last debt

Anno Christi

I owe to sin. And to submit to that judge-ment which hath past against me. I do it with a very contented and quiet mind; I thank God, I do freely forgive all the world. I thank God I can say it, and truely too, my conscience bearing me witnesse, that in all my imployment, since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual prosperity of King and People, although it hath beene my ill fortune to be mis-constru-

There is one thing I desire to free my self of, and I am confident I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, That I did alwayes think the Parliaments of England, were the most happy constitutions that any Kingdome or Nation leved under, and the best means, under God, to make the King and People happy.

For my death I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions & purposes of my heart I am not guilty of what I dye for. And it is a great comfort forme, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so heavy a punishment as this.

I wish this Kingdom all prosperity and happinesse, pinesse, and desire every one who hears me to confider feriously, whether the reformation of a Kingdam should be written in letters of bloud. Let me never be so unhappy, as that the least drop of my bloud should rife up in judgement against any of you. But I fear you are in the wrong way.

I profess that I die a true and obedient son of the Church of England wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

This faid, he defired all prefent to affift him in his prayer. wherein he continued near a quarter of an hour, then riling up, he bad all his friends farewel, especially by name his brother Sir George Wentworth, by whom he feat his love to his wife, and bleffing to his children, willing him to charge his fon, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church.

Then he addrest himself affine block, and having prayed a-while, he gave the Executioner the token of his preparednesse, whereat the Heads-man doing his office, severed his head from his body at the first stroke. Thus died this unhappy Earl. And to die thus, by the stroke of Justice, cannot but configuration up to posterity under some more horrid Character, yet lest that blemish should orespread all his same (drawing aside the traverse) I shall (and I hope without just offence to any) represent such excellences as were in him impaled with, and which might feem it not to

ballance, yet fomwhat alleviate his other failings.

A Gentleman he was of rare, choice and fingular endowments, I mean of fuch as modelled, fathion'd, and accomplishe him for State concernments; of a searching and penetrating judgment, nimble apprehension, ready and fluent in all results of counsel. Most happy in the vein of speech, which was always round, perspicuous, and express; much to the advantage of his sense, and so sull stockt with reason, that he might be rather said to demonstrate, than to argue. As these abilities raised him to State administration, so his addressing, his applying those abilities so saithfully in promotion of the Royal interest, soon rendred him a Favorite of the first admission. So that never King had a more intelligent, and withall a firmer servant than he was to his Master. But these qualities which rendred him so amiable to his Majesty, represented him formidable to the scots, so that some who were not well per-

274

The Reign of King Charles.

1641.

InnoClaiff. swaded of the justnesse of his sentence, thought he suffered not so much for what he had done already, as for what he was like to nave done, had he lived, to the dif-service of that Nation; and that he was not facrificed so much to the Seess revenge, as to their fear. And certainly his fall was, as the first, so the most fatal wound the Kings interest ever received. His three Kingdoms not affording another Strafford, that is, one man his peer in parts and fidelity to his Majesty. He had a singular passion for the Government, and Patrimony of the Crurch, both which he was studious to prescree fafe and found, either opining them to be of facred extraction, or at least prudent constitutions relating to holy performances. And had he wanted these positive graces, yet in so great a person, it may be commendable, that he was eminent for privative and negative excellencies, being not taxable with any vice, whether it was that those petty pleasures are beneath the satisfaction of a foul such as his, and of so large a stature; or that grace had put a restraint upon his appetite. In short, he was a Man who might have passed under a better notion, had he lived in other times, or had he in these played his by as another way.

# Cætera desiderantur.

#### ERRATA.

FOl.3. 1. 22. read Segovia, fol.6. 1.25. dele then, fol.77. 1.7. r. petitioned, fol. 78. 1. 7. r. pfilent, Fol.113. 1.6. r. of bis, fol.119. l. 17. r. too, fol.124. 1.34. r. fill, fol. 127. 1.4 r. panish, abid. 1.6. r. English, ibid. 1.9. r. became, fol.137. 1. penult. r. integine, fol. 138 l.9 r. bearing, ib. 1. 20. r. forues, fol. 139. 1.4. r. byes, fol. 142. 1.40. r. modell'd, fol.143 l.5. r. decev'd, fol.847. 1.6. r. near by, tol. 164. 1.46. r. cross the Seas she would, fol.208. 1. 35. r. breaches, fol, 220, 1.8, r. baving.



# A Table of all the Remarkable passages in the Book.

A Boot Archbishop is sequestred. Pag. 69. Dieth, 131. His Cha-St. Albans Vicount his death, 62. and Charatter. ibid. Sir Giles Allington censured in the High commission for incest. Amboyna massacre in part revenged in Germany. Andrewes Bishop of Ely his death and character. Sir Robert Anstruther Ambasadour into Germany. Argile Earl declareth himself for the Covenanters. Arundel Earl is imprisoned, 23. is discharged, 37. and confined again, 50. fent Ambassadour into Germany, 145. Assembly General in Scotland indisted, 160. their 10 Proposals, ibid. contraded into two. 161. it is dissolved by the King, 162. yet still continueth. Lord Audley arraigned, 119. found guilty, 121. condemned and executed, ibid. Remark upon his crimes.

## B.

Lord Balmerino arraigned in Scotland, 139. Condemned, and after pardoned.

Earl of Bedford and oilers confinel, 107. he builds Coven Garden. Sir Robert Berkly impeacht of high Tresfon. Bishops affronted in Scotland, 153. They protest again't the General Affem-Bristow Earl accuse hihe Dake of Buckingham of high treason, 28. Articles against him, 30, is committed to the Tower, Broadway arraigned and executed. 122 Duke of Buckingnam accused o high treafon by the E. of Brittow, 29 and by the Commons, 38, is lequelized from the house of Peers, 10. His answer to he Impeachment, ibid. is designed A lmiral for relief of Rochel, 89. is murthered, 90. Things remarkable after his fall, 91. His Will Funeral and Character. Sir John Burrowes flain at the Ifle of

On Carlos de Coloma; Ambaf-Sador from Spain. Ceremonies of the Church, firs about them. King Charles his birth, p. 1. his journey into Spain, 2. and return 3. is Proclaimed King, 6. his Speech in Parliament, 10. is Crowned, 20. His answir to the Commons Petition against Recufants, 15. Demands supply in  $O_{02}$ 

## The Contents.

ner and Mr. Coke, 24. His Speech upon that subject, 26. charged with imprudence, 50. vindicated, 51. and again, 59. is in want, 61. raifeth money by Loan, ibid. His Speech in the third Parliament, 74. His feveral answers to the Petition of Right, 79,80. His Speech concerning Tonnage and Poundage, 84. and at the diffolution of the Parliament, 100. his Declaration thereupon, 102. His progresse into Scotland, 129. is Crowned there, 130. His letter to the Judges about Shipmoney, 146. Yields to the Covenanters in Scotland, 157. bis gracious Declaration to the Scots, 161. raifeth an Army, 165. goeth against the Scots, ib. & 193. His Pockets rifled, 202. His Speech in the beginning of the last Parliament, 203. His Speech for Bishops, 2 1 0. His answer concerning Goodman, 212. His Speech concern. ing the Lady Mary, 220. and concerbing a Triennial Parliament, 212. His answer to the Commons petition against Papills, 260. His Speech in defence of the E. of Strafford, 261. Troubled about the Bill of Attainder, 265. paffeth it, 258 writes to the Lords about it, 268 and again, Charles Prince of Wales lorn, 112. Sir Edward Coke's death. Mr. Clement Coke's bold speech in Parliament. The House o' Commons answer to the King concerning Dr. Turner and Mr. Coke, 26. They impeach the D. of Buckingingham of high Tresfon, 33.grant five Subfidies to the King, 76. Debate the Subjects Liberty, ib . Remonstrance against the Dake and others, 81. Their protestation, 100. a tumult in their House a-Leut it, 101. Divers Members questioned therefore, 103.6 committed, 104.

the fecond Parliament, 15. Requi-

reth satisfaction concerning Dr. Tur-

A bill preferred against them in the Star-chamber, ibid. great debates about them, 107. Petition against grievances, 205. Impeach the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of high Treason, ibid. they judific their charge by Law, 259. Petition against Papists, 260. their Protestation 264. The Convocation, Ann. 1640 sitteth after the Parliament, 184. impose a new

ter the Parliament, 184. impose a new Oath, 186. grant a Benevolence, 191. their Canons voted illegal in Parliament.

Coventry Lord Keeper dieth, 172 Customers questioned in Parliament,

99

## D.

E Arl of Denbigh Admiral for Relief of Rochel returneth re infe&a. 87 Sir Dudly Diggs his prologue against the Duke, 33.15 committed, 37 Lord Digby his Speech for Episcopacy.

# E.

Denburgh Castle falls down, 172.

the repair whereof is hindred, 173
The Prince Electors son drowned, 96
Sir Iohn Eliot committed, 37
Overtures of a match between the King of
Polonia and the Lady Elizabeth.

Episcopacy abolished in Scotland, 161
Earl of Estex marrieth again. 118

F.

## The Contents.

## F.

F<sup>Flton</sup> killeth the Duke of Buckingham 90. is arraigned and executed.

Finch Lord Keeper vindicates his innocence, 208. is voted a Traytor flyeth.

A Fray in Fleetstreet. 70 & 110.

Overtures of the French aliance, 4. it is concluded, 7. a reflex upon it. 8

The French and English differ. 53

Conclude a Peace. 105

## $G_{\bullet}$

Ades Voyage, 16. Descams uponits ill successe.

Goodman a Priest reprieved, 213. Remonstranced against. ibid.

## H.

HAdington Earl blown up at Dunce,

Marquel's Hamilton leaves the Court in

discontent, 60. raiseth men for Germany, 116. is sent Commissioner into Scotland, 156. is there sleighted, 157. comes to Edenburgh, ibid. returns into England, ibid. and again into Scotland, 158. returneth into England 160. and again into Scotland. ibid. Fight between the Hollander and Spaniards in the Downes, 170. an account of that assion.

Stirs in Scotland about the Marquesse Huntly. 105

### J

Ing Iames his death and character.

Jefuits their nest discoverd, 73. at oddes with the Seculars, 115. insolent in Ireland.

Innes of Court Mask.

Discontents in Ireland, 127. A Parliament and Synod there.

Judges their opinion about Shipmoney.

Juxon B. of London made Lord Treasurer.

## K.

The Lord Keepers Speech concerning Dr. Turner, and Mr. Woke 24 Kenoul L. Chancellour of Scotland dieth.

Knighthood tax. 115

## L

Dostor Lamb flain.

Dostor Land made Archlistop of Canterbury, 132. vindicated. 187
His Palace befet with Prentices, 182
Voted guilty of high Treason, 224. is impeach d by the Commons. ibid.
Earl of Leicester fent Ambassadour into Denmark.
Leighton a Scot censured in the Starchamber.

Scotish Leiturgy sirs about it.

153
Loan

#### The Contents.

Loan money refused, City of London fined for the tumult about Dr. Lamb, 88. Petition against Bilbops, The House of Lords Petition in the first Parliament, 22. Differ with the Commons about the Petition of Right, 76. and about the bill of Subsidies, 84. their Privileges violated, 205. Their expression upon the Kings Letter concerning the Earl of Strafford The English Lords petition the King at York. Lord Lowden committed to the Tow-E.1. l of Lindsey goeth Admiral for the relief of Rochel

#### M.

R. Manwaring questioned in Parliament, 83. and censured, ibid.

Earl of Marlbrough displaced, 89

Lady Mary marrieth the Prince of Orange, 255

Earl of Montros deserts the Covenanters. 201

Mr. Mountague questioned in Parliament, 12

# N.

THe Navy Sent to relief of Rochel,
60
Nov the Asturney Generall dyeth,

# O:

The Prince of Orange marrieth the Lady Mary, 263
Oxestern sem into England. 136

#### P.

THe Pacification between England and Scotland. The Paligrave dyeth, 126. the young Prince arriveth in England, 136. His ill successe in Germany, 168. is kept a Prisoner in France. Panzani his Negotiation, Robert Parre aged 160. years brought to London. Parliament 1º Caroli, 9. is adjourned to Oxford, 12. Petition against Recufants, 13. is diffolzed. Parliament 2º Caroli, 21. diffolved, Parliament 3º Caroli, 72. prorogued, 85. meet again, 96. appoint Committees, 97. is adjourned, 99. diffolved, 101 Parliament 16º Caroli, 188. is diffolved, ibid. the last summoned, Bill for a Triennial Parliament passed, Bill for continuation of the last Parliament, A Parliament in Scotland, 167. is proroqued. Contribution towards the repairing of St. Peace between England and Spain, 109 Earl of Pembroke dyeth, 111. bis character. A great Pestilence and reflex upon it, 8

#### The Contents.

P. pi'h plots discovered, 176. and 212
Presbytery she rise and growth of it.
162
Proclamation in Scotland against tumults.
154, 155
Prynn and others censured in the Starchamber, 151. released, vide in triumph into London, 207
The Lady Purbeck censured for incontinence. 69

The Petition of Right, 78. great aebate a-

bout it.

# Q

The Queen fervants difmift. 56 The Queen Mother of France comes into England, 164

# R

RHE Astion, 63. The English routed there, 67. the summe of our losse.

Proclamation against Recusants, 19.95. their insolence.

Restex upon the difference between the King and Parliament, 53 Religion in danger, 97 Peter Reuben the Spanish Agent,

Rochellers implore aid from England,

Relief is sent to it, 87. is rendred. 93

#### S

Ste John Savils project against the Pa-Scots ill affeded to the King, 130, plots against him, 129. the beginning of those troubles, 153. They petition avainst the Leiturgy, 155, enter into a Clemn Covenant, ibid. The Scotish Covenanters demand a general Allembly and Parliament, 157. double their quards. ibid, protest against the Kings Declaration, 160. legin to arm, 162. Fallifie their pacification, 174. fend Commissioners to the King, 174. fend a Letter to the King of France, ibid. enter England, 193, rout the English, ib. Oppres Northumberland, 197, Treat with the English Lords, ibid, their demands, ibid. & 208, with the English Commissioners answers. 7 English Ships lent to France, 53, mifimployed against Rochel. English ships stayed at Bourdeaux, 57. Snipmoney projected by Noy, 135. the debate about it, 146. is voted against in Parliament. A strange sight upon the Thames, 52 and of a Filh at Cambridge, Souldiers killetted in the Countrey, The Spaniards beaten by the Hollander in the Downes, The Lord Spenser his smart reply to the Earlof Bristow. 29 Book of Sports on the Sabbath. 132 Stoadt furrendered. Strafford, vide Wentworth. King of Sweden his harlb demand from the Palifgrave, 125. is flain,

The

#### The Contents.

# T

The Term adjourned to Redding,
19
Tonnage and Poundge great debate about
them,
84, & 99.
Traquair Earl assaulted in Scotland,
155
A Tumult crying for justice against the
Earl of Strasford,
264

impeached, 206. His place of triall, 229. Articles against him with his reply, 226. &c. New proofs against him, 230. is voted quilty by the Commons, 260. and by the Lords, 265. is brought to the Scassold, 271. his speech there, ibid. Death and Charaster, 273 Weston made Lord Treasurer, 89. His handsom put off concerning the Dukes superall, 91. his Death

Dukes funerall, 91. his Death,
135
Williams Lord Keeper excluded the
Parliament, 20. fentenced in the Star-

chamber, 151 is enlarged, 206 Lord Wimbletons house burnt, 93 Secretary Windebank flyeth, 207

#### U.

SIr Henry Vane Secretary: the cause of dissibilities the short Parliament, 183

His Notes of the Councill Table, 246

Treaty with the United Provinces, 16

#### Y.

JAmes Duke of Yorke born,

#### $\mathbf{W}^{\scriptscriptstyle{1}}$

Lord Wentworth Deputy of Ireland, 127. Vindicated, 137. im-

The end of the Table.

# OBSERVATOR OBSERVED:

ANIMADVERSIONS

**UPONTHE** 

OBSERVATIONS on the HISTORY

# KING CHARLES.

WHEREIN

That H t s T o R Y is Vindicated, partly Illustrated, And severall other things tending to the Rectification of some publique mistakes, are inserted.

To which is added, at the latter end, the OBSERVATORS Rejoinder.

Οὐ πάνυ γε βάθιον ότιν ευρών έργου, έφ' ῷ ἐκ ἄν τις αλτίτων έχοι. Ζονοφών 'Απομπιμον. Βιόλ. γ.

JAMES Chap. 3. v. 8.
But the Tongue can no man tame.

#### LONDON,

Printed by T. C. for Edw. Dod, and are to be fold at the Gunne in Ivy-lane. 1656.

#### To the READER.

Gentle Reader. ID I not tell thee fo ? That some Soblique D descants would come traverse upon my honest Narrative.] Those Oblique descents are the Ofervations mentioned in the Title leaf, being descants oblique enough, not onely upon my Narative, but upon or rather against King Charles; so that the Title of his Pamphlet might rather have been formed into the Observations against King Charles, then Observations upon his History. These Observations are Usber'd in with an addresse to the worthily esteemed, my self. In this Addresse I read my Charge, and it is this, [Either my Intelligence or my diligence hath failed me, or my judgement is not well informed, or I have been by affed from the Mark of Truth by the excess and transport of mine own affections. Having thus bespattered me, he seems desirous to wash me clean again with a little of his holy water, saying she hath my parts & person in an high esteem] but in very truth the mysterie of the businesse is, to make the world believe I am worthy the overcomming. If in this I mistake, and the man be real, yet I heartily wish he would hereafter spare that cost of complyment, which is but cast away on me, who value his bits as little as his knocks: And this is all I shall say to his Epistle. Next be should come to open the evidence of his Accusation; but he is Staid, see how.

of Ambury Colonia Colonia Colonia

Alteria de la Sani I

Page. 1.

Observator. I thought it sit to prepare the way by offering some considerations at the Authors Stile, which by reason of many lofty words, no English reader can climb over.

Answer. Stile, unknown, lofty, and climb over ! Here's a woodden conceit made by as woodden an Observator, who, had not his head (all but the face) been made of blocks, or had he confulted ancient Authors, he might have known that the word stile used by writers, was not made of wood, as this obfervator supposeth, but of mettal; the very same with his own face, one end whereof was serviceable as a pen, the other as a knife to race or scrape out what was amisse. As to those lofty words, I declare to all the world, this, not uningenuous acknowledgment, that having converfed with Authors of the Noblest and cheif Remarque in several languages, not onely their nations, but their very words, especially being of the most elegant import, became at length so familiar with me, as when I apply'd my self to that present work, I found it very difficult to renounce my former acquaintance with them; but as they freely offred themselves, so I entertain'd them upon these considerations. First, I was consident that amongst learned men they needed no other passe then their own extraction. And for those who were meer English readers I faw no reason they should wonder at them, considering that for their satisfaction, I had sent along with every forreigner his interpreter to serve instead of a Dictionary.

Then I had observed that our language had of late already admitted very neer all of them into so frequent use in ordinary discourse, as almost amounted to a Naturalization of

them amongst us.

Lastly, I was perswaded, so long as my Narrative was evenly carri'd, and tolera bly true, a canded Reader would have pardoned that blemish of my Stile, especially such an one as takes notice that two Historians Livy and Salust lie under the same censure; the first for his Patavinity, as Asinius called it, the other for his obsolete words extracted from Cato de Originibus, as Augustus said; yet notwithstanding are by fomethought to carry away the Garland from all their fellows.

The premises considered. I shall demand of the observator in the words of his own Horace, de arte Poetica.

> Ego cur acquirere, pauca Si possum invideor, cum lingua Catonis & Emî Sermonem patrium ditaverit, & nova rerum Nomina protulerit.

If I a word or two new forge, what then? So did old Cato and elder Enning. Men Who on old things imposing names new-covn'd. Rendred the Roman language more refin'd.

Page. 7.

Fol. 2. To whom the Prince returned answer that he would imbower the Earl of Bristow to give his Majesty all satisfaction in that particular That is to fay (for fo it must be understood in the words foregoing) that he would make a Proxy to the Earl of Bristow to celebrate (in his name) the marriage with the Lady Infantu. But there was no such Proxy made to the Earl of Bristow, that being a power and trust thought worthy of the Catholique King and Don. Charles his Brother, as appeareth plainly, O.c.

Answer. What a do is here about nothing? Had the Obfervator well confidered and advised with the next page (the third) he might have found there, that I no leffe then twice spoke of the Earls delivering up the Proxy, clearly importing it was onely in his cultody to confign to another, and that was indeed to the King of Spain only, not to him and Don Charles, as the Observator faith, of whom I would gladly learn, who that Don Charles was, he being the first Don Charles; Lor I think any else ever heard of So that here the Observator was out himself. I take it.

Fol. 5. England ever found the Spaniard a worfe friend then enemy for this I think you have no reason; the amity and correspondence between those Nations having continued firm for many ages and never broke (if not now of late) but by the English or on these occasions. First by the invasion of Spain by the Black Prince.

Answer. What I spake here of England, any faire-manner'd Interpreter will judge to be meant of England in the quality she then and now is, that is, in the state of Reformation, of which I hope there is no doubt, and the Observator seems to confesse it.

Page. 10.

Ibid. Who perceiving upon the whole sum that the sty Spaniard pradised to make an aftergame of the Palatinate King James was not to be told that now reserved as an aftergame, but yet intended to be plai'd by the Spanish Court to the more honour and advantage of the English; for thus I find it in a letter from the Earl of Brillow, 08.28. For the businesse of the Palatinare &c. These words give me no small assurance of the integrity and good meaning of the Court of Spain.

Answer. Whither or not King James was to be told this, now I do not determine; fure I am, told he was of it. And whereas the Observator is become a flour advocate for the Spanish faith, in the point both of the match and the Pallatinate, had he perused the letter of King Philip the third to the Conde of Olivares extant in the last Cabala, and recited in Parliament, he might there have found that neither was sincerely intended, but meerly delayes sought for by the Spaniard to accomplish his persidious ends. And as for Bristoines letter insisted upon by the Observator, it signifyeth nothing to the vindication of the Spanish faith; that Earl being articled against in Parliament for abusing both the King and Prince with a false perswasion of Spains sincerity.

Page. 12.

Fol.4. Which being new and the businesse propounded, it was entertain d with an unanimous consent and a motion made that an Ambassador should be sent over to negotiate that Treaty] I somewhat doubt of your intelligence, the marriage of the Prince containing such a branch of the Royal Prerogative as King James was not likely to communicate with his Houses of Parliament. For when he was Petitioned by both Houses not long before, that for the avoyding of some dangers which did seem to threaten the whole Kingdom, he would marry the Prince to a Lady of the Protestant Religion, he entertain dthe motion with no small distain.

Answer. The Logick of the Observator! The King was angry when the Parliament moved him concerning the mariage of the Prince. Ergo (which is in English therefore) he would not communicate with them in one of his own liking. Again, it was no more lessening of his Prerogative to communicate with them in the entrance into, then in the breach of a Treaty of that nature, as he did in that of Spain, which was the main businesse debated in the Parliament, 21. Jac.

Page. 13.

Ibid. In the stile of the Court he went for Great Britaines Solomon] That he was Great Solomon, that is to say, either the wisest man or wisest king of the British Nation, I am not Courtier enough to defend or say. It is true indeed that he much pleased himself with boasting of his King-Crast; but I have heard many wise men say that they could never find what that King-Crast was.

Answer. The Observator here falls foul upon King James, in veighing against and withal detracting from his King-Craft: Pitty it is his Observations came so tarde into the world, that Squire sandersen took no notice of them in this particular, who would else have taught him either more wit or manners.

Page. 14.

The Observator Observed.

Page. 14.

Fol. 5. A flout adverfary he was to the Arminians, and Semipelagians whom he call'd, as Prosper before him, the enemies of Gods grace] In this short Sentence, there are many things to be considered. 1. What these Arminians were which our Author speaks of. 2. Whether they were the enemies of Gods grace, or not. 3. What the Reason was, why King James shew'd himself so great an adversary to them.

Answer. In the persuance of these three particulars, the Obfervator spends not lesse then ic. pages, wherein though I am very little concerned, yet I shall take the liberty to obferve these few things. First, he saith St. Augustines zeal against the relagian herefy, transported him into inconvenient expressions. It were a very proper work, for this Observator, to instance to us those inconvenient expressions, and to undertake the confutation of him, as he is presented to the world by Jansenius. Secondly, he imputeth to them of Calvins way, this opinion that a man is forcibly drawn and irrelistibly with the cords of grace, in the work of converfion. Let him produce the men who, and where they fay it. They take away indeed an actual relistance of the will, as inconsistent, simul & semel, with efficacious grace, but none I think affert this irrelistibility the Observator mentioneth; Nor is this all, but they hold also, faith he, that man contributeth nothing to his own eternity. A thing I am confident never declared interminis by any; but feeing the man feems to account it as one of their errours, I would gladly learn, and have the Observator explain this Metaphysical whimwham, how Eternity (for fo he faith, not Salvation) can recipere majus & minus, receive either augmentation, or diminution from man. Lastly, he endeavoureth to shew that King James was much governed by Doctor Mountague, Bishop of Winchester, who being of a contrary perswasion, put him upon many harsh and severe expressions against those poor men. But this Mountague being dead, he began to shew himself more favourable unto those opinions, especially upon the comming out of a book, of another Mountague then Prebend of Windsor; whole judgment in those points he liked very wel. A thing most unlikely; for in Theological controversies, it is well known King James was able enough to go alone, & needed not like a child, be led up and down by the hanging fleeves from one opinion to the other, by either the one or the other. And whereas Mr. Mountague is made the man who first reformed King James his judgement, I offer it to confideration, how probably it is afferted, when An. 1628. this Mr. Mountague then Bishop, together

gether with Dr. Neal Bishop of Winchester, being Remonstrated to the King, as abetters of those Tenets, and the King declaring diflike of those Novelties, both he and the other Bishop; with tears in their eyes, protesting, they hated those opinions, and before his Majeffy and his Councel on their knees. renounced them. So Sr. Humphrey Mildmay averred in open Parliament 30 Careli nomine contradicente, No one neer the Chair contradicting.\*

See the Additions.

Page. 25.

Fol. 6. The Kings Corps on the 4th of May was conveyed to Westminster and there inhumed &c. ] Our Author tells us in the end of his Pretace, what a special care he hath of his temporalitie; and yet he failes us here in the first beginning. For neither was the body of the King interred on the 4th of May, nor the letters of procuration kept undelivered until the 8th nor the Marriage Celebrated after the Funeral of the King. For upon Sunday, May the first, O.c.

Answer. That the 4th of May was put for the 7th, is confest to be a mistake; and it must be either in the Printer, or, a meer clip of my pen, for that I intended it so; I have these reasons to perswade the contrary. First, all my informations, not one (and four they were) dissenting fixt, the Kings interment on the 7th and I were a mad Historian, to vary in fo impertinent a matter, from those informations. Secondly my mentioning that that solemnity would be past May the 8th may probably imply, I intended to affign the 7th for it, for else the 5th day had been more proper. But this is not all, I am mistaken also in the celebration of the marriage; which though at first designed to be on the 8th as I am able in fallibly to demonstrate, was as I am now informed, on the first of May as we account. So that two errours are in point of temporality here acknowledged.

Page. 27. Fol. 7. From Canterbury his Majesty took Coach for Whitehall where the third day after his arival If our Author meaneth by this, that their Majesties went in Coach but some part of the way only, he fould then have said so, their Majesties passing no further then Graves end, and from thence went by water in their Royal Barges, O.c.

Answer. What I meant here any ordinary capacity may know, which is able to different he difference between the taking Coach to, and for Whitehal.

Page. 28. Fol. 8. For as a man is without a female confort, so to a King without his supream councel an half-form'd steril thing our Author in these words, and the rest that follow, maintains a Paradox most dangerous to supream Authority in making Parliaments so necell ary to all Acts of State, as if Kings could do nothing without their confent.

The Observator observed.

Answer. I hope no man of any ingenuity, will interpret me here or elsewhere, an enemy to Monarchy; or doth so much as question but that my Politique Descondants imply Statutelaws, which I am of opinion, no King of England hath power to make without common consent in Parliament.

Page. 26. Fol. 17. And who (i. e. Sr. Robert Mansel) had an unquestionable right to the cheif conduct of this enterprise upon the Dukes default I believe not fo.

Answer. The Observators contrary beliefe is no evidence, who was never made an Arbitrator in the businesse; nor is it to others fo strange a thing; many men of wisedom, and long experience, still holding it for a Rule, not onely in this particular, but in all such as have vicariam potestatem, a vicegerency.

Page. 27. Fol. 20. And the first thing resolved upon was his solemn Initiation into Regality &c. Observator. As solemn as the King e-Reemed it, yet our Author as it seems, thinks more poorly of it; for be censureth it for a vanity, and thinks that kings are idle in it. Are not all Christian Kings concerned in this? &c.

Answer. Why I call this Inauguration a serious vanity, I declare the Reason; because it conferreth no one dram of solid grandure to the Throne, Kings being perfect Kings, and qualifyed fully to all intents of Royality without it. Will the Observator deny this? if so, let him consult the Lord Chancellor Egertons Postnati, where he shall find the same afserted : Yet lest some such Cavillers should quarrel at my inclination, I added ferious to it, importing there was somewhat in it of solid signification. Nor are all Christian Kings concerned in this. His Catholick Majesty of Spain, is not so much as touched, who is not Crowned at all.

Page. 39. Fol. Ibid. The Lord Keeper Williams was displaced, and his place disposed of to Sr. Thomas Coventry Observator. Our Author is here out again in his Temporalities; for the great Seal was taken from him in October, three months before. The like mistake he proves in his Temporalities, touching Bishop Laud whom he make Bishop of Bath and Welles; who was then Bishop of st. Davids.

Answer. The fall of Lord Keeper Williams, I never fay'd or intended to be in that moment of time, to which that Paragraph relates; but principally purposing to deliver therein his and others exclusion from the Parliament, I mentioned also his fall as a thing preceding, and no way concurring with the other. So I was not out in this Temporality; but if I was not, Iam afraid I know who is, in affirming the great Seal was taken from him in October whereas he parted with it in August, as Mr. Howel in his familiar letters, Sect. 4.1. 22. relates. But in making Dr. Land Bishop of Bath and Welles at that time. I confesse I was mistaken, and this is grande nefas, an horrid crime no doubt. But, this is not all; for rather then he will not find another, the Observator setcheth a running leap to Fol. 96. where speaking of the Articles of Lambeth, it is faid I they were first sent to the Synod of Dort, and after that to the Convocation of Ireland; a very strange Hysteron Proteron, Setting the Convocation of Ireland after the Synod of Dort, which preceded it three years; and this is somewhat more then superannuating in his Temporalities Answer, I write the History of the Reign of King Charles, and then what I said of that superannuating was by me intended (nor can it be rationally interpreted otherwaies) of such things and actions as have reference to the fixteen years whereof I treat in that History, not of such things as antecedently occurr'd, & are taken in by the By: for I have oft occasion to mention things of preceding date, as in the case of the Scottist Presbytery, wherein though I am guided by the best informers I had, yet will I not nor did ever so mean, to warrant the truth thereof, as to every particular year. So it fareth in this errour, in point of precedency between a Convocation and a Synod; whereof to raise a question is only to strive de Lana Caprina, and is at worst properties updernue, but a meer laps of memory; a thing as obvious, so withal excusable in the best Authors in point of circumstance; in such an one especially as this, wherein (as being extravagant, and out of the bounds of the Principal Narrative) curiofity was lesse concerned. And this is I hope enough to keep this errour within the bounds of my confidence of not superannuating, were the errour infallibly mine own. But if now after all this ranting triumph, upon a melius inquirendum, and better fearch, the errour should prove none of mine, would not the Observator, think you Reader, be wondrous blank at his Ridiculus Mus. Refort to, and Review the place; then tell me, whither or not in your unbyast sense, That Paragraph with the former, and three subsequent to it, do

not, or were not so intended, to compleat the report of the Committee for Religion. If so, then my information hath wronged me, or I my information. Now for my wronging my information (for I must walk circumspectly, so many snares being laid to entrap me) take this ingenuous account. As for this report, it being very long, I thought fit to contract it into a narrow feantling, not minding the words, so I secured the substance. And if I have fail'd in this, if I have delivered any thing material, which those Journals will not own, let me fuffer; and to speak here to the purpole, I appeal to Mr. Pym his speech Jan. the 27. in those Journals, where my Coppy (though erroneously I grant) presents these Articles sent to Dort, before Ireland; so much in defence of my not superannuating in this particular. Now I come to relieve my Preface out of the Observators Purgatory, which hath tortured it fufficiently, by faying I am confident I stand secure, not only from substantial falshoods, but from circumstantial also; whereas this is his Preface, not mine; for male dum recitat, the property is alter'd faith the Epigrammatist, my words being expresty these, Confident I am, I stand secure against any substantial falshoods; and I hope (now that 'tis no more then I hope) against circumstantial also. ow the avaiduas. Phy impudent Observator, relish it as you please; for cum dixeris quod vis, andies quod non vis, if you will take upon you thus, garrire per angulos & de mundo ferre sententiam, to fneak behind noon, and there give judgment upon all the world, you must look when you fail and forge so fouly, to be told of it to your teeth.

Page. 41. Fol. 21. Who loved the Bishop if fame belies her not, better then was fit Observator. I think our Muthor with more prudence might have spared this note, especially having Fame onely for the ground thereof, which is so infamous an Historian.

Answer. True it is, Fame is not alwaies an infallible informer, some Rumors being begot by Malice, and nursed up by Gredulity: But yet true it is, that the is fometimes a Publique Testimony: and the wise Tacitus, though he erects no Historical structures upon her bare affidavit, yet doth present her in the like concernments, for an Author of a fecond Admission. How far she stands guilty of the crime of Defamation in reference to that Lady, Ilist not to enquire. Sure I am Mr. Wilsons Eunuchus ab utero was a clearer acquitance of that Ladies Innocence, then any Argument by the Observator produced ; and I must tell him it seemeth not at all ridiculous to any one who had a more inward knowledge of that Prelates condition. Mr. Wilson went indeed too far in the extraction

traction of Bishop Williams his impotency which was not ab Aftero from the womb, but contracted after when he was a boy by falling upon a stake; whereof the Observator may be further assured, please he to enquire.

Page. 48.

Fol. 45. For the Lords found an antient Order, that no Lords sedente Parliamento, should have voice during that sellion &c. wherenpon their suffrage was excluded Observator. I-somewhat doubt our Authors intelligence in this particular.

Answer. Matters of fact must not be born down with I believe, or I conceive; if the Observator can from the records themselves demonstrate my rour, I recant.

Page. 51.

Fol. 64. But all would not smooth the aspirity of this illegal Tax ] Observator. The money which was then required of the Subject. was not imposed in the way of Taxe, but a Loan.

Answer. Taxe in common speech is taken for a Compulsory Tribute, imposed upon the Subject, at a certain rate; and such a Taxe this Loan was, it being so cumpulsory, as the refusers were by special instructions bound over to the Councel-board and imprison'd.

Page. 55. Fol. 71. And a Commission granted by the King to five Bishops, B. Laud being of the Quorum, to execute Archi-Episcopal furisdi-Gion. The cause impulsive to it was a supposed irregularity &c. Observator. In this and the rest which followeth, our Author runs himself into many errours. First Bishop Laud was not of the Quorum, no more then any of the other. Secondly, the irregularity supposed, was not touched upon in the Commission. I birdly, it was not bis keeper but the Lord Zouches he kill'd in Bramhil Park, &c.

Answer. What four errours at a clap? that's ill luck; yet it was well they proved no more, for he that made them four, might have made them by the same art of juggling his words into my Text, four hundred. Let him keep his own suppositicious foystings at home my errours will not multiply so fast. Now first, where did I say Bishop Land was of the Quorum more then any other? of the Duorum, I said he was, meaning that of the five he was one. Secondly, where did I say that the Irregularity was expressed in the Comission, as the impulsive to it? I said it was the declared impulsive to the Commission, and if it was not, or these had been any other, the Observator Thould have done well to have discover'd. \* Lastly, whereas I said the Archbishop kill'd his Keeper, Mr. Pryan in his Bre-

\* See the Additions.

vians of Archbishop Lands life, p. 11. and Aulives Coquinaria, p. 130. expresly say it was his Keeper. My last errour is the vouching Bishop Andrews for a vindicator of the Archbishops Regularity. The Observator yeelds [ he did the Archbishop great service in this businesse, but not for any opinion which he had, that no irregularity was incurred by that misadventure. Really Bishop Andrews is beholding to the Observator for this note, the whole scope of that Commission was to inquire into the matter of fact, and to resolve whither the Archbistop (notwithstanding that mischance) was Regular or not Recular. This Bilhop with Sir Henry Martin, politively maintain'd that he was Regular still; now if acting as a Commissioner from the King, he would positively maintain one thing, and in his own judgement adhere to the contrary, as the Observator positively faith he did, I say the more too blame he, and the much more too blame the Observator if he doth in this particular belye him, as 'tis an hundred to one he doth. But if the Bishop pronounced the Archbishop Regular. though he thought otherwaies, what was then the plot? the Observator tells us it was to keep out Dr. Williams then Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper, &c. who would have steps into that See. So then it seems the question was not whither Regular or Irregular, but who, Abbot or Williams, would make the best Archbishop. This is fine stuffe, pitty it is, there is no more of the remnant. Page. 58.

Fol. 73. They who lately were confind as Prisoners, are now not only free, but Petty Lords, and Masters, yea and Petty Kings. 70bservator. I cannot chose but maryail what enduced our Author unto this expression of making the Gentlemen assembled in the hou'e of Commons, not onely petry Lords, but Petry Kings; I have heard that King James once said in a time of Parliament (but whither in way of jeer, or otherwaiss, I am. not able to fay) that there were now five hundred Kings beside himself.

Answer. King James having said the like before, it is no great marvail that a poor Subject should use the same expresfion, confidering what the Observators Court-Historian (as he, and Dr. Heilen usually stiles him) faith, Nonibi confistant exempla, unde (so it is not ubi, by his favour) ceperunt ] Examples are not restrained to their first Originals, Nordid that expression import what these Gentlemen were de jure, but what in reputation, and what de facto, and of this experience hath taught us, they lately were not Petty Lords but Lords Paramount; not Petty Rings, but Superiours to Kings themselves.

Fage. 59

12

Fol. 75. Their Estates modestly estimated were able to buy the house of Pecrs, the King excepted, though an hundred and eighteen thrice over Observator. Assuredly the Basonice were brought very low when the Gentlemen assembled in the house of Commons could buy them thrice over, there being not above 500 of the one, and thrice one hundred and 18, that is to say, three hundred and sifty of the other, by which account every Gentleman must be able to buy his two Lords and an half one with another. But why doth our Author leave out the Bishops, &c. It was ill done of him to exclude them, and not well done of him that should have kept them in, to exclude them afterward, &c.

Answer. All that I can make out of this account is, that it will take two such Observators and an half to make up one good Arithmetician. The Computation is not so over-difficult but any one of slender skill may sum up, and proportion it. The number of Piers being 118 allow to every Peer 3000 l. per annum, the total is 254000 l. multiply this by 3, there arifeth 1062000 l. The Commoners the Observator grants to be five hundred; allow to every Commoner 2124 l. per annum, the product will be 1062000 l, fo then every Peer considered at 2000 l. and every Commoner at 2124 l. per annum, no such stupendious businesse, if it be withal taken for granted, that for estates they were the gallantest assembly that ever those walls immured; then I say the Commons were able to buy the house of Peers thrice over. Now for omitting the Bishops, I demand what were they? members of the house of Peers, or are they not? if the first, then these words are turn-key enough to let them in; if the Observator say not, their exclusion is his own manufacture. Next to come to the man, who did so ill when he should have kept them in, to exclude them: This man is King Charles, the very same I assure you, sed dicere mussat, would he speak out, and exclude them; true it is he did Tout of a firm perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour for his fake lo are his very words. And I dare anfwer for almost all (for all I dare not; non omnes Episcopi Episcopi funt) they were for his sake well contented; and if so, the greater indignity it is for this Canis Palatinus this Court-curre, a fellow so unconcerned therein, now his Royal back is turned, to be snarling at his heels for it. But of such men this Nation hath enow, and to spare. I well remember being once at Table, our number being about a dozen, at that time when somebody was in a flourishing condition in scotland, several discourses passing in reference to his affairs, amongst other things a report was mentioned, that in order to his establishment he promised the Covenanters a settlement of the Presbyerian government, whereto one Reply'd [If he complie with the Presbyterians, it is not this bit of bread to me whither he sinke or swim so strong an influence had Episcopacy upon his Spirit, and possibly not Episcopacy neither; for it is threwdly to be suffered that some standard not so much upon that Hierarchy, in

The Observator Observed.

spected that some stand not so much upon that Hierarchy, in reference to the Churches splendor, as to their private Ambition. Fac me Episcopum Rome, & ero protenus Christianus, Make me Bishop of Rome, & then I will the Friedrich in faid a flouting

Pagan to Damajus. And if Fac me Epifcopum, make me a Bifloop, be not the terminus ad quem, the main scope of some Prelatical Regalists, they are honester men then I take them to be.

Page. 64.

Fol. 90. He stitched a paper in the lining of his hat wherein he declared &c.] Observator. I think he is somewhat out in short, there being nothing sound in his hat or elsewhere about him; a sew loose papers such as might become those men who make God the Author of sin.

Answer. My informer is Captain Harvey (one of those to whose custody by order of the Lord Carlton, Felton was first committed) who in a letter that very 23 of Angust, wherein beside other things formerly observed, he hath also this passage, that Felton told him he was to be prai'd for the next day (being Sunday) at London in a Church (meaning St. Brides) at Fleetstreet Conduit, and in the end concludes his letter (having formerly related, his Motive to the fact, was, the Remonstrance of the House of Parliament) thus; He sewed a writing into his hat, within the lining, to shew the cause why he put this cruel act in execution. The writing was thus even for a syllable.

I would have no man commend me for doing it, but rather discommend themselves; for if God had not taken away their hearts for their sins, he had not gone so long unpunished. \*\*Tobn Felton.

The man is cowardly base in mine opinion, and deserves reither the name of a Gentleman or Souldier, that is unwilling to sacrifice his life, for the honour of God, his King, and Country.

John Felton.

Page. 68.
Fol. 94. The body was from thence convey'd to Portsmouth,
and

there bung in chains, but by some stole and convey'd away, Gibbet and all. Observator. Our Author is deceived in this for I both saw the Gibbet standing, and some part of the body hanging on it about three years after.

Answer. That it was confidently so reported (though erroneously, as I am since informed by the Observators betters) I have good Authority to prove, and that will be sufficient for me; nor is it any great wonder, when we consider how ready and disposed Fame is to unwarantable superfætation.

Page. 70.

Observator. The calling in of Mr. Mountagues book, and the advancing of Dr. Barnaby Potter (a through-paced Calvinian) unto the Bishoprick of Carlile, could not get him any love in the hearts of his People.

Answer. This must necessarily fignifie something of abominable quality in either the Person, or Doctrine of Dr. Potter, or both; to be so efficacious to obstruct and impede the affection of his people. As for the man, know it is his eminent Relation to his Majesty, might rather create a wonder why he was advanced so late, then why so soon; and to imagine any thing tending to scandal in his life, considering his place of so neer admission to the King person, will at the first fight, look fo like a Calumny, as deferves no answer. So then the horrid thing in him is, and must be his opinion, and being a throughpaced Calvinian; and that indeed is blemish enough now a daies; he that is so, be he the greatest Scholler in the Land, he doteth; Be he the most pious, he is an hypocrite; be he the most consciencious in all his Actions, a very knave; with all these titles of honour, I have known the gallantest men in this Nation dubb'd; and what is this but to make a faction of an opinion, and to contend for victory with the losse of Charity? The institution of Cyrus makes anxhive speaking truth, one of the three accomplishments of a compleat man; Christiany goes further; and therefore the Apostles rule is, we must search for truth and speak it, but in love, that is, keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of Peace. This unity of love, must be preserved even where there is not an unity of faith in things not fundamental, which I take not one of those controversies to be; and if they be not so, it is a most sad thing for the Church of God to be torn and rent in the entire cloth with diversities of such opinions, whose truths will neither carry us to Heaven, nor errours to hell; what the uncharitable animofities on both sides may produce I tremble to think. It was St. Augustines opinion, and I wish it entertain'd by our whole

Ephel.4.15. αληγεύει εν αγάπκ.

Augustine Epist. 162.

whole Church in fuch Polemick questions as these, Laudandi funt qui pro bono veritatis tolerant, quod bono veritatis oderunt. [they are to be commended who for Christian verities sake patiently endure what they would else dislike for the avail

of Truth. 7 To proceed.

Page. 70.

Fol. 6. For Arminianism informations were very pregnant, that not with standing the Resolution of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Reverend Bishops and Divines assembled Anno. 1595. & c.] Observator. Why man, the Articles of Lambeth were never looked upon as the Doctrine of the Church of England, nor intended to be so looked upon by them that made them.

Answer. Why Moon, who said they were? not I; it was Mr. Pym, and the Committee for Religion said so. I do but recite what that Committee declared as the product of their inquiries. and with this answer, legible enough to any who can read, I might easily avoyd no lesse then 25 pages of the Obfervator. So that I might justly have this Man in the Moon, like Mithridates his souldiers, fighting by Moon-spine with his own shaddow; Had he not scattered my particulars in my way which detain me.

First, Stating the occasion of making the Lambeth Articles, he saith, page. 74. That the Compilers of the book of Articles, and the book of Homiles, the publique Monuments of our Church in point of Doctrine differ'd from Calvines sence in the point of P edestination and its subordinates.] Answer. This is very probable; for it is very rare for two even of the same party to agree exactly in all parcels of these controverties. But if they did in some things vary in opinion, I am

still to demand, Querfum hoc, what then?

Secondly, Page. 74. He faith of Petrus Baro, at the end of his three first years, he relinquished the Professorship, and retired not long after into France. ] Answer. Three errours in not sull so many lines. First, Petrus Baro relinquisht not his Professorship at the end of his sirst three years. He was Professor Anno. 1574 his Lectures upon Jonas tells us so. And the Observator will have him Professor about the time of the Lambeth Articles, which were in 1595. So then he relinquisht his place not at the end of his sirst three years. Secondly, his first three years are manifestly mistaken for two. For by the Statutes of the Lady Margaret, Foundresse of that Professorship, every Professor is eligible at the expiration of two, not three years. The precise words are, Et volumus insuper quod de catero quolibet Biennio, ultimo die cessationis cujusibet termini ante magnam vacationem universitatis prædistæ, una habilis, apta

& idonea persona in lectorem lectura practicita, pro uno Biennio integro, viz. a festo nativitatis E. Maria Virginis tune proxime sequente duntax at duraturo eligatur: Fol. 105. in nigro codice. This I thought sit to insert for the information of very many of a contray belief. Thirdly, Peter Baron never went or retired into France after the Resignation of his Professionin, but went up to London, to Crutched Friers; there he lived, there he dyed, and was buried in St. Olaves Church, at whose Interment the Bishop of London Ordered all the most en inent Divines, Ministers in that City, to be present. Of this I hope I am credibly informed from his own Son still alive.

Thirdly, the Observator laboureth to discredit the Articles of Lambeth; by telling us a story, perhaps a tale, of the Queen, the Lord Burly, and Archbishop Whitgist in reference to those Articles. To which I answer, first, This story was never heard of till the year and the reputed father thereof, is one Aurelius (not Aurelius Augustinus, nor Petrus Aurelius to be sure) a Kentish-man, who was unborn when those Articles were framed. Secondly, admit his relation true; that Assembly was neither the first, nor the Greatest that have incurr'd a Præmunire.

Fol. 96. By the prevalency of the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Orthodox party were depressed, and the truth they served was scarce able to protest them to impunity.] Observator. A very heavy charge, which hath no truth in it; for I am very consident that neither of these Bishops, did ever draw any man within the danger of punishment in relation only to their Tenets in the present Controversies, if they managed them with that prudence and moderation which became men suddicted to the Gospel of Peace.

Answer. I fear then the fault will be in their Prudence; for that some were snibb'd for matters of like nature, & restrained from speaking their consciences, the same journals relate, Sir Daniel Norton and Sir Robert Phillips informing the House, the one of Dr. Moor, the other of Dr. Marshal, who both testify'd they were chid by that B. of Winchester for preaching against Popery, and commanded to do so no more.

Page. 80.

Ibid. By the uncontrouled Preaching of several points tending and marping towards Popery by Mountague, Goodman, Cozens and others.] Observator. Hom again our Author is I think mistaken; for neither Mountague nor Cozens were questioned for preaching any thing warping towards Popery, &c.

Answer. All the error the Observator can here pick out, is in the word Preaching, which I confess should have been Publishing,

lishing, though both are sometime of the same, never of a much differing import; And though I shall agree with the Observator, that in Dr. Cozens his Horary there is no direct Popery; yet might it raise jealousies of his tendency that way, considering the time wherein he published it. But seeing that Doctor hath appeared of late a stout advocate for the Reformed Church, as I was first informed by my Reverend friend Mr. Lionel Gatford, and am now surther assured by others, I wish all men would indulge him a savourable construction of that his right-hand Error. Charity to himself as Christian, and to the unity of this distracted Church, requires no less-

Observator. That Adoration towards the Altar or Eastern part of the Church, was generally used by the best and most religious Christians in the Primitive Times, Our Author, (if he be the man he is said to be) being well versed in the Monuments of most pure Antiquity cannot chuse but know.

Page. 85.

Answer. Because the Observator appeals here to my know? ledg though I boast not of any great knowledg of or acquaintance with the Monuments of most pure Antiquity, yet will I render both my science and conscience, and these apart from what I deliver as the Report of this Committee, who are of age to answer for themselves. True it is that bodily Adoration, and worshipping towards the East, was an ancient custome of the Primitive Church; evidence thereof there is enough in Ecclesiastical writers. As it was ancient, so can I not say it was illaudable in them, and might be tolerable in us, as I conceive, were all men satisfied in the decorum of it, or a liberty left to those who are still dubious of the lawfulnesse thereof to forbear it. But for dopping or cringing to, or towards the Altar or holy Table, as oft as they approached to, or retreated from it, (which is I take the bowing meant by the Committee, and was oft practifed by some indiscreet pretenders to conformity with the Primitive Church ) I professe feriously I find nor the least trace thereof in any genuine Author of the first 500 yeares; and suppose I did, yet would not that be exemplary enough to me to imitate their practife. The Primitive Fathers never intended their usages or expressions should be leading charts, or Directories to all posterity; they knew wel enough that ceremonies, phrases & modes of speech, must comply with, & humour the temper of their respective times, places, and other like circumstances. Their Priests, Altars, Sacrifices were at first words of an innocent import, and pious intendment; but, became afterwards, in process

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Epift. 200.

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process of time, the main turn-keys to the superstitious Sacrifice of the Masse, and the supporters of Transubstantiation; and though Great scholars who know most properly how to apply them, may fometime take the same liberty the Fathers used, yet seeing the Idolatry of worse times hath imposed upon those words a sense differing from their primitive reception, reason good in common speech they should be forborn. Ne propter ambiguitatem vocabuli quam non discernit quotidiana locutio, illud fiteri videatur, quod est inimicum nomini Christiano. Least by reason of the ambiguity of a word not so easily discerned in ordinary discourse, something may seem to be intended not consonant to Christian faith as Augustine excellently in another, though not unlike, case: So that the Primitive practice is in my opinion no general rule to goe by. I proceed to the next ceremony faulted by the committee, the standing up at Gloria Patri. Concerning this the Observator faith first [ It was never obtruded I am sure ] Answer, what never? Let him not be too confident, for really I fear there will prove a flaw in his assurance, who so ever was of his Councel. For in Bishop Wren's Articles tramed for the Dioceffe of Normich, fure I am, cap, 4th, there are these words Do they (i.e. the People) at the end of every Psalm stand up and fay, Glory be to the Father, &c. ] Now I think things inquired after in Diocesan visitations may be said to be urged and obtruded. But if it was not obtruded by the Bishops, the more negligent, the more too blame they; for the Observator tels us Secondly, The Rubrique of the Church requiring us to stand up at the Creed, obligeth us by the same reason to stand up at the Gospels and Gloria Patri, the Gospels being the foundation of the Creed, as Gloria Patri is the Epitome and abstract of it \ \ \ Now fay I, if the Rubrique obliged us to use this ceremony, it did also oblige the Bishops to enforce conformity to it: and the Observators excuse is their accusation. But this Theologaster saying that Gloria Patri is an Epitome of the Creed, tells us newes indeed. For of what Creed I demand? of that (the Apostles) at which the Rubrique enjoyned us to stand up? surely no such thing. It is in truth as Mr. Hooker quoteth out of St. Bafil, ἀποδωξις το 'ός > ε ος οτήματος, the evidence of a right sense in the doctrine of the Trinity; and not in all concernments of that Doctrine neither, but only in the particular of Coequality of the three Persons. Now there are in the Creed other points besides relating to the Trinity, and some Articles not at all belonging to that Doctrine. So that this Doxology must be stretched beyond all reason to compre-Thirdly, he faith that [Many a thing may be retained in a

Reformed

Reformed Church, without special Rubriques to direct them. ex vi Catholica consuetudinis, especially where there is no rule to the Contrary. Bene, Eine Jed quo islud tam bene? much truth, but to little purpose. For will the Observator say; we have no Rule to the contrary? If he doth, he must be transmitted to the Act for uniformity prefixt to our Leiturgy, where there is a væ, a woe to him who [shall wilfully use any other Rite or Ceremony, &c. then is fet forth in the book of Common-Prayer expressly binding all men to a strict confor-

mity to the very letter of it.

Fourthly, He faith there is no more Authority for standing up at the Gospel, then at Gloria Patri Answer. Reason there is more I am certain, and I believe more Authority. As for Reason, Standing is the most proper posture of attention; and it any part of Scripture requireth attention, the Gospel doth it in a most eminent degree, the reading whereof is 707' w, ara Chrisoft. in تاريخ , the fetting of Heaven gates wide open, not with the Plalmist for the King of Glory to come in, but for the King of Glory to come forth. Now as standing is not improper, so is it not a posture peculiar to the action of Doxology, and glorifying of God, as is evident by our church, which sometimes (as in our Communion service) requireth it from our knees. Next I come to Authority, which I say did positively injoyn me and all men of my mind to stand up at the Gospel, not so at Gloria Patri. For by the Canons, it is required of every man when in the time of Divine Service the Lord I think it should be, word or name, as in the Queens Injunctions | Jesus shall be mentioned due & lowly reverence shall be done as hath been accustomed now how it hath been accustomed the Queens Injunctions tell us expresly, it was [by lownesse of curtesie, and uncovering of the head By uncovering my head this reverence I cannot performs for Pileum being insigne libertatis recepta, the cognizance of liberty, I think it becometh me not to have it on when my Lord and Master speaks to me. So that my Reverence I must do by Genuflection and bowing of the knee, which cannot be done but in a Stationary posture. And note further, that this Reverence is not only required by our Church, when the Goffel, but also when the secondlesson, yea when the Epistle (or Apostle as the antients call'd it) was read.

Page. 98.

Fol. 110. There was an old skulking statute long since out of use, though not out of force, &c.] Observator. This statute was made in the first year of Edward the second. But whereas our Author tells us that the persons mention'd in that statute were not required to be made Knights, as was vulgarly supposed, but ad arma gerenda, to bear armes, and thereupon tells us a ftory of a Sword and Surcoate, I hall rather believe the plain words of the Statute, then bis interpretation.

Answer. I find by Sr. Edward Coke, Inft. part second, that by the Common-Law all persons who hold a knights Fee (which was of uncertain value, fometimes 15, fometimes 20, fometimes (as in this present case) 40 l. per annum) might be compell'd to be made Knights. That the Kings of England had this power before the Stat. 1. Ed. 2. it is evident by Matthew Paris, pag. 897. who relateth that H. 1. came into the Exchequer, & there fined all the Sheriffs of England five markes a man for not distraining Quemlibet habentem, &c. [ Every one having 15. pounds per annum, to be made Knights as he commanded by his writs directed to those Sheriffs. And the like precept was fent out by Edward 1. as is to be feen by Muthew Westminfter, Flor. Hift. p. 223. As to my ftory of the Belt and Surco ite, the Author thereof (an eminent Antiquary) being long fince dead, and not in being to make his defence, I shall offer fomething out of my reading tending that way in confirmation of that note. First, for the time, that it was regularly to be at the Coronation, is inferrible from the instructions sent down this year, with the Kings Commission, whereby [ Alfuch Baronets as were not Knights at his Coronation, and all Knights who have received that honour fince that time ] are declared liable to make fine. As for the Belt and Surcoate, Matthew Westminster tells us, K. Ed. I. sent forth a Proclamation, that all such persons, Qui haber ent unde militarent adessent apud Westmonaster. &c. Who had possessions valuedat a Knights fee should appear at Westminster, &c. What to do?he tells you presently admissuri singuli ornatum militatem ex regia garderoba, to receive military accountrements out of the Kings Wardrobe. But I faid, thefe men fummon'd were not to be made Knights, as was vulgarly supposed, which words having reference to the present case, are no other in substance then what Sr. Edward Coke said before me, who in the place forerecited speaks clearly thus. [Now, tempora mutantur, the times are changed and many a yeoman purchaseth lands in Knights service, and yet (non debet) ought not, for want of Gentry, to be a Knight and a little after, the fine to the Mark which is chiefly aimed at.

Page. 102. Fol. 124. For many had no fancy to the work, meerly because he was the promoter of it ] Observator. It was plainly contrary his case in promoting it being one great reason why so many had a fancy to it most of the Clergy contributing largely unto it; the like did most of the Nobility and Gentry.

Answer. The Observator saith most of the Clergy, and most of the Nobility and Gentry contributed largely to the repairing of St. Pauls. Many, and most, may sure be consistent; there may be many opposite to the major vote.

Page. 106. Fol. 126. But the entertainment most of all August and Royal, mas that of the Earl of Newcastle at Welbech, which was estimated to cost the Earl not lesse then 6000 l. Observator. I have shewed our Author some mistakes in his Temporalities, and now I shall shew him one or two in his localities, besides his misplacing of the vattail of Tillique spoken of before. The entertainment so much talked of, which cost the Earl 60001. was not made \$622. in the time of the King's going into Scotland, but July the last in the next year; nor was it made at Welbech, but at Belfover Cafile. The like mistake in matter of locality, occurreth Fol. 129. &c.

Answer. The Observator here mentioneth a battail of Tilli. que, spoken of before; but where I know not; only conjecture that he had a good will to take me to taske for misolacing a battail, I suppose at Rostoch; but upon better consideration he found the errour was his own, not mine; and therefore cut out the leaf containing the tot & 102 pages wherein his mistake lay, leaving that Paragraph tyed head and heeles to-

Now I come to my two errours in Locality. The first is my misplacing of the Earl of Newcastles entertainment of the King. Which he will have at Belfover Castle in Darby-shire, not at Welbech: and not 1623, but the next year after; and why fo? because I that was the entertainment which cost the Earl 6000 l. Tanswer, mentioning the entertainment given the King by the Earl, I delivered these particulars. First, that it was in his progresse into scotland. Secondly, that it was the most August of all. Thirdly, that it was at Welbech. Lastly, that it was estimated (not positively that it did so) to cost the Earl 6000 l. The three first are granted for truth by the very Observator himself; and for the last, as I said barely, it was so estimated, so I must tell him it was so estimated to my felf at Tork at that very time of the Kings Progresse, and a full year before the next entertainment was given or perhaps thought of.

The next mistake in Locality, is, Fol. 129. where I relate that both their Majesties, with their train of Court-Grandees and Gentlemen Revellers, were folemnly invited to a most fumptuous banquet at Guild-Hall. Whereas the entertainment which at that time the City gave the King was at Al-

derman

derman Freman's house. Herein I confesse my errour; Parce precor falso.

Page. 110. Fol. 127. A very Learned man be was, his Erudition of the old stamp stifly disciplin'd in the doctrine of St. Augustine, which they who understand it not call Calvinisme. 7 Observator. Whereas Our Author makes the Doctrine of St. Augustine and Calvinisme to be all One, I think he is very much out in that. St. Augustine was a great maintainer of Episcopacy, which the Calvinians have rejected. &c.

Answer. Good Reader, judge thou if I make the Doctrine of St. Augustine and Calvinisme to be in all concernments all one; in opposition to the Massilian and Arminian Tenets they are, I both faid then, and dare fay again, the very fame or very neer. In some other points know I do they differ. The Observator instanceth in that of Episcopacy; how true that, I determine not; but in that of the sabbath or Lords day, which is the next thing offers it self to our consideration, sure I am they do.

Page: 112. Fol. 128. This Declaration then caused so many impetuous clamours against it, as it was soon call'd in. Observator. In this I am fure our Author is extremely Out; that Book being never call'd in though the execution was foon discontinued,

Answer. Out I may be, but sure not extremely out, the discontinuance of the Execution of it being a tacite suppressing and calling of it in.

Page. 114. Fol. 123. The Divinity of the Lords day being new Divinity at Court. Observator. And so it was by his favour in the Countrey too, not known in England till the year 1595. So new it is that it cannot prescribe to 60 years; for if it could we should have found some mention of it in our Articles, or Our Book of Homilies, in which we find nothing at all touching the keeping of that day.

Answer. By this and some other passages in the Observator, we may suspect the man to be Petrifi'd (there's an hard word, as hard as a stone) and very conversant with Peter Hielen a Dr. of Cosmography, a work very proper for him; for none fitter to describe the world then he, who all his life hath loved the world, none like him; but of that Dr. more anon. Next to the Observator, if that Dr. and he be two; First, he saith that [the Divinity of the Lords day was not known in England till the year 1595. Iffo, I demand of the Observator, what

what did Archbishop Whitgift mean in his defence of the Answer to the Admonition, p. 553, where speaking in the present tense, he saith the Sabbath is superstitiously used by fome? did he mean the Jewish Sabbath at that cannot be; for he subjoynes to is the Church the Creed the Lords Prayer; importing it to be a lawful thing, abused by superstitious people; and soon after he speaks of a Sabbath then commanded by the 4th Precept, which could not be the Jewish; and if not that, must of necessity be the Lords day. Now this Archbishop published his Defence, Anno. 1514. Next for the book of Homiles, furely he spake much without books for certainly there was not any thing more especially taught in those Homiles, then the divinity of the Lords day: they faying [God in that Predept (speaking of the fourth) commandeth the observation of the Sabbath, which is our Sunday ] What can positively be rendred clearer? Here's the Sabbath interpreted by the Lords day, and that commandeth to be observed in the 4th. Precept by God himself. So that by the Observators leave, the Divinity of the Lords day may be found in our book of Homilies.

Page. #15. Fol. Ibid. Which feemed the greater prodigy, that men who fo eagerly cryed up their own Order and Revenues for Divine. Should 10 much deny the Lords day from being such when they had no other Existence then in Relation to this. Observator. Here's a Prodigy indeed, and a Paradox too; that neither the Order nor Revenues of the Evangelical Priesthood have any existence but in Relation to the Divinity of the Lords day. If our Author be not out in this. I am much milbaken.

Answer. Where hath this Observator been brought up. that this Tenet of mine, of mine said I? yea of all learned men should be so wondred at to be called a Prodigy? Good Reader when thou feest him next, tell him from me, there is scarce a man of note who treateth of the fourth Commandment, that owneth not this Prodigious opinion. I shall content my self with only one at present, but one who I hope will be instar omnium with the Observator, as being free from Puritanism. The learned Bishop of Winchester, who expounding the fourth Commandment, saith first, [because Dott. p.259. men should not be left at liberty when to perform Religious duties, God hath appointed a Day whereon to do them, and that more folemnly in a publique meeting or affembly this Day, he calleth the Lords Day. Secondly Now whereas the folemn duties of this Day, cannot be performed in a publique manner, without a Place fet a part, and Persons enabled to per-

Catechift.

form such facred actions. Therefore both Places & Persons sandify'd to those purposes, & Maintenance also for those Persons, are included in this Precept] so here are both the facred Orders and Revenues constituted in relation to the Lords Day, and the duties thereof; and emergent both from the fourth Commandment, and so I hope the Prodigy is at an end.

Page 116.

Fol. Ibid. Int of this elsewhere. ] Observator. And indeed of this there hath enough been laid elsewhere to latisfie all learned and ingenuous men both in the meaning of the law and in point of practice.

Answer. Never any thing more truly spoken. And all I shall superadde is this, that whereas I said, But of this elsewhere, my meaning was, that of the Doctrine of the Sabbath or Divinity of the Lords day I had treated elsewhere, in a book extant of that Argument, Anno. 1640. never as yet answered by any. To that Treatife I refer all men who shall defire my Judgment in that Subject. Only from thence I shall (having so fit an opportunity) be bold to re-mind Doctor Heilen of an od mistake (to say no worse) committed by him, in vindication whereof he never attempted anything as yet; The mistake this, The main question concerning that Day was (and I am forry to find it is) whither or not it be of Divine institution : That Doctor with his leaders and followers, said nay, ; and (because it would signifie the same thing, should it be evinced to be Apostolical) the man sweats, toyles, and somewhat worse, to evade it. For Part 2.c.6.s. 7. of his History of the Sabbath, he citeth out of Parens his Com. in Gen. 2. treating of the change of the Sabbath into the Lords Day, these words; Quomodo antem facta sit hac mutatio in sacris literis non apparet. And to make it apparent, he was industrious in it because Quomodo alone he thought non vult fac, would not do the deed without his Paraphrase; he descants on it thus. How? that is by, what Authority this change was made appeareth not in sacred Scripture, whereas in very truth, Pareus his word in two several Editions, one 40 the other folio, is Quando (not Quomodo) & for the authority, he in that very place ascribes it Apostolica Ecclesia, to the Apostolique Church; and in Comment upon 1 Cor. 16. v. 2. and upon the Revelation, fixeth it positively upon Apostolical Authority. Now what it is for a Doctor of Divinity, for so great a champion of Antiquity against Novelty, not in an idle circumstance, but in the grand concernment of a controversie, to forge and falsifye a Record so boldly, I dare not say so impudently, I submit to the judgment of all the world. This I write partly to provoke an answer from that Doctor, and

partly, to vindicate him from the groundlesse supposition, which renders him the Author of these observations; who, as he hath professedly disavowed it, so is it scarce credible that he of all men, durst be so bold with me, as this Observator is, knowing how readily I might have returned—— Quistulerit Gracehos——

Page.117.
Fol. Ibid. And was after stiled Duke of York] Observator. Our Author here accommodates his stile to the present times, when the weekly Pamphlets gave the Prince no other Title then the Titulary Duke of York. It is true indeed the second son of England is not born to the Dukedom of York, but receives that Title by creation, &c.

Answer. How is it possible to escape the Observators lash? Had I said he was then stilled Duke of Tork, I had been out in my Temporalities, he being not created Duke of Tork till afterward: to avoy'd which Scylla, I inserted after, and sell upon the Charybdis of complying with weekly Pamphlets; what shall an honest Historian do in such a case?

Page. 122.
Fol. 131. The King presently issued out writs to all the Counties within the Realm. Observator. Our Author is deceived in this, as in many things else; For in the first year of the Payments of Shipmoney the writs were not issued to all the Counties of England, but only to the maritine Counties, &c.

Answer. This mistake I acknowledge also. But did it deferve so much favour as for the Observator to give me two for one? for first he saith, in the first year of Shipmoney the writs were issued to the Maritine Counties.] No such matter, it was to the maritine, to the Port-townes only. Secondly, he saith that in the next year, and not before, the like writs were issued out to the Counties in England, which is an undoubted truth; but whereas he gives us some more certain note of that year to be 1636, he is much out; for those general writs were issued in the year 1635, as a consequent of the opinion of the Judges in that November; and this is an undoubted truth also.

Page 125.

Fol. 132. But in regard he came without Credential letters from the Queen of Sweaden, he denied him audience, whereupon he returned in some disgust Observator. In this short passage there are more mistakes then lines: For first, it is not likely that yong Oxonstern came without Credential letters: Secondly, I am sure he had publique audience, my curiossty carrying me to the Court

Page 245.

Adv. Pela-

gian. l. 1.

to be bold the Son of fo mife a Father, &c.

Inform. Never was any mans hand so out as mine in this Nagration; what? more mistakes then lines? that's fad, if not somewhat hyperbolical, as is evident because there are many lines, and but two mistakes, taking the Observators information for currant. But be there more mistakes then lines, I have a Father for them all. The History of the Wars of Christendome, The Author whereof, though he be an Italian, and therefore not so competent a Judge of our affaires; yet the Earle of Monmouth, who translated him, was of our Nation, and a person of so much honour and knowledge in this businesse, as he would have given us some Marginal caveat, had it been so wide of truth as the Observator would make it.

Page 130.
Fol. 137. The King committing the staff of that office to Dr. Juxon Lord Bishop of London; who, though he was none of the greatest Scholars, yet was withal none of the worst Bishops. Observator. I would fain learn of our Author in what particular parts of either divine or humane learning he reckens this Bishop defective.

Answer. That this Bishop was none of the greatest Schollars. I saw then no reason but that I might safely say, without disparagement to his Function, Schollarship, or my Prudence; a Bishop may be sessarines, able to instruct, and Schollar sufficient for his Place, though he be none of the greatest magnitude. Nor is it requisite that a Bishop be much more learned then a Presbyter: That he be more prudent. requifite it is, being a quality more pertinent to Government; and in this particular, I hope I have made him an amends in the latter part of his Character. Ishall conclude with Hierome, Nullus aut rarus est qui omnia habeat, que habere debet Episcopus. No Bishop, or rarely any hath all vertues belonging to a Bishop; and he who wanteth two or three, and hath all the rest, is more commendable for what he hath, then to be blamed for what he wants: If this be not fatisfaction enough. I hope that is, that I have ordered a deleatur upon it, being loth to abide a misconstruction; and finding the Historians note verified . Vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis est. -

Page 133.

Fol. 138. Arthe Archessing, whilst he so vehomently pursued order, did a little outrum Authority, &c.] Observator. The King gave Authority and Approbation to it (a year before this Metropolitical Visitation) in the case of St. Gregories in London, heira

The Observator Observed.

being heard before him sitting in the Privy Councel. Anno 1533.

Answer. The Archbishops out-running Authority I intended not in placing the Communion-Table Altar-wife, at the East-end of the Chancel; but by enjoying a wooden'traverse of rails to be set before it, by commanding all communicants thither to refort for the Bleffed Sacrament: Thefe I commend as decent in themselves, but account as innovations. I will give you now my reason, not gnarrelling with Dr. coal, whom the Bishop of Lincoln carbonado'd, nor yet with Peter Heylin; plainly and fincerely the 82 Canon enjoyneth, that the communion-Table, when the holy communion is to be administred [shall be placed in so good fort within the church or chancel, as thereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants, and the communicants also in more number may communicate with the said Minister. Now the communicants may both best hear, & in most number communicate, when the Table is in the body of the Church or of the Chancel Again, it is clear from the word faving, mention'd in this canon, that the Table was to stand in one place when there was no Communion, and in another when there was one. And this is most clearly made out by the Queens Injunctions 1559. from whence this Canon in this particular is almost verbatim taken; for after order taken where it shall stand, in Communion-time, it is further said in those injunctions I And after the communion done, from time to time the same holy Table to be placed where it stood before. Infallibly implying, that though it stood Altar wife before, yet at communion-time it was to be removed, and confequently not to be raild in.

But behold how he defends this from Innovation. The King gave Anthority and Approbation for it a year before the Metropolitical Visitation I speak of ] Where's that? [in deciding the controversie about the communion-Table in the case of St. Gregories 1633.) This Metropolitical Visitation, fay I, was 1635. His Majesties Declaration, Sayes the Observator, was 1632. a year before; fure the man meanes London measures But what? did the King declare any thing in that case, conderning the setting of railes before the Holg Table, or that it thould stand there immoveable, so as the Communicants were to refort up to those failes to receive? Sure I am that Declaration speaks no such matter, not a syllable tending that way : Oporter effe memorem. When these words fell from me, it feems I forgot what I faith before of the remissegovernment of Arch-Bishop Abbot [which made the inturereduction of tender-confeienced men so long discon-

tinued

tinued obedience, interpreted an innovation.] No such matter, I well remembred those words, and withal that I never meant they should relate to the setting Railes before the Holy Table, so as it might not be removed at the time of celebrating the Blessed Sacrament.

Page 139.

Fol. 138. They were not blamelesse in their lives, some being vitious unto scandal. Observator. Vitious even to scandal! That goes high indeed, and it had well become the Author to have named the men. Or were there such, it had been fitter for our Author to have played the part of Sem and Japhet, in hiding the nakednesse of their Spiritual Father, then to all the world. &c.

Ad Ruffin.

Answer. A true saying it is of St. Hierome: Quando sine nomine contra vitia scribitur, qui irascitur, accusator sui est. When vices are declam'd against, and no persons named, he who is angry, accuse th himself. So that here the Observator may seem to save part of my labour, and names himself for one. And wish I doe, from my very soule, I were not able to add another; for the Observator himself cannot more cordially rejoyce in the conviction of me here for untruth, then I would my self, so much do I prefer the honour of the Clercy before mine own reputation.

But were there such, it had been fitter, fayes the Observator, for our Author to have played the part of Sem and Japhet, in hiding, then of Cham, in making Proclamation of it to all the world. Certainly no fitter for me then it was for Chrysostome, the Greek of whose golden mouth was, in relation to the vices of his times, as broad as is my English in reference to those. No fitter for me then for Gildos, sirnamed the wise, the most Ancient of our British Writers extant, to say, Sacerdotes habet Britannia, sed insignentes; quam plurimos Ministers, sed impudentes, clericos, sed raptores subdolos, &c. Great Britain hath Priests indeed, but silly ones; Ministers of Gods word very many, but impudent; a Clergy, but given up to greedy rapine, &c.

No one of us all acting cham's part, that is, making sport with the failings of those we should reverence; but rather sadly bewailing the Churches condition, in being burthen'd with such unsanctify'd persons; and for my self, acting the part not of cham, but of an Historian, Historie being not only surand the action of an Historian, Historie being not only surand the action of the vertues of Heroick Spirits, but misses the take some notice of this exorbitancy of some of the Clergy; and

that (as this Observators Court-Historian saith) non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer, not so much that I might accuse them, as fearing lest I should be accused my selfe for omitting them.

Page 141.

Fol. Ibid. He was bold to say, he hoped to live to see the day when a Minister should be, as good a Man as any Jack Gentleman in England. ] Observator. Our Author telling us this Man was an high Flyer, he gives us some conjecture at the Man he drives at. A Man of an undaunted spirit, and strong resolutions, but not so intemperate in his Words, or unwise in his Actions, as to speak so contemptuously of our English Gentry.

Answer. The Observator hath, I believe, a probable conjecture at this high-Flyer; but as to his vindication of him from such distemper in his words or actions, I fear his word will scarce be taken. The truth is, it seems my information was not then so good as since; therefore I have now corrected that expression according to that Authors own copy, adding upstart to Jack-Gentleman; which argues, I think, not much of the temper or wisedome the Observator cries up in him.

Page 143.
Fol. 147. Very little differing, as the King was unhappily perswaded by them, from the English. Observator. The Alterations being made, and shewed to the King, he approved well of
them; in regard that comming neerer to the first Liturgy of King
Edward the sixth in the Administration of the Lord Supper, it
might be a meanes to gain the Papists to the Church, who liked far
better of the first, then second Liturgy.

Answer. Though the King was shewed the Alterations of the Scottish Liturgy; yet might he so apprehend, or be perswaded that the differences were small; and yet might they be great for all that, and perhaps not discovered by him: They are not the multitude of words that create the greatnelle of a difference; it was but one word, yea, but one vowel of that one word, about which the Orthodox Church and heretical Synagogue of Arius contested. But behold the reason why the King (as the Observator saith) approved of the Scotch Liturgy. It came neer to the first Liturgy of King Edward the fixth in the Administration of the Lords Supper, and so might be a meanes to gain the Papists to the Church, who liked far better of the first, then second Liturgy. That the Papists liked King Edwards first Liturgy (and consequently the Scot'sh) better then the second is without all dispute,

dispute; the very words of distribution of the Elements in both being so stamed, as they may confist with Transubstantiation. And yet a flender means to gain them to our church. The gaining Papists to our Church, was indeed the great pretended project of 40 yeares continuance; and yet in all that time not so much as one taken with that bait. How many true Protestants have been lost thereby, I grieve to think.

Page 144 Observator. Our Author here doth very well describe the imo Tunults at Edinburgh, upon the reading of the Eook of Common Prayer; but he omits the great over-fights committed by the King and the Lords of that Councel, in the conduct and carriage of that businesse.

Answer. Here the Observator (being between Hawk and Buzzard) flies at the whole Covy, taxing not onely the King (for that is nothing with him ) but him and the Lords of the Scot'sh Councel with overlights, great overfights: Sure things will be gallantly ordered, when our Observator comes to be of a Councel of State.

Page 151. Fol. 151. Because it was the Bishops War. 7 Observator. I am forry to see this passage have our Authors pen, whom I should willingly have accounted a true Son of the Church, were it not for this, and some other puffages, which savour more of the Covenanter.

Answer. A Covenanter? yes no doubt of that, a throughpaced Covenanter; but why fo? Because I call it the Bishops War, and so did they. True, they did; and besides them many an English Protestant: why might they not? Was it not a War undertaken at first in defence of their Hierarchy? Nav. one of no mean effeem makes one of that Order the main cause of that War, by introducing the Liturgy amongst them, Sc. spe quidem laudabili, eventu verò pessimo 5 with a good intent, but exceeding ill successe: why so? Hinc signidem, &c. For from hence proceeded Tragedies, Tumults, War, and Invasion. Now that War which an Arch-Bishop occasion'd, and which was entred into for maintaining that Hierarchy, may, I hope, without offence be called the Bishops War. But here I am cut off; the Observator telling us that [Religion was but the vizard to disgusse that businesse which covetousnesse and sacriledge had the greatest hand in which he confirmes by this ensuing Narrative. [The King being engaged into a War with spain, and deferted by those who engaged him in it, amongst other wayes of affistance, was minded of a purpose his Father had of Revoking all Grants of Abby Lands, &c. which being vested

Elenchus Mat.

The Observator Observed.

in the crown, were by his Protectors in his Minority, conferred on many of the Nobility and Gentry, &c. Being refolved upon the same course, he intends a Parliament in that Kingdome, appoints the Earle of Nidderdale to prefide therein, and armes him with instructions for passing of an Act of Revocation accordingly: who being on his way as far as Earwick, was there informed that all was in Tumult at Edinlurgh 5 that a rich coach which he had fent before to Dalkeith was cut in pieces, the poore horses killed, the people seem. ing onely forry that they could not doe the like to the Earle himselse. Things being brought to this stand, and the Parliament put off with a fine Die, the King was put to a necessity of fecond councels, &c. 7

Answer. That many had other then Religious designes, there is little doubt, they hoping to obtain that honour or wealth in a troubled State, which they were confident they should never arrive at in a calm. Now, as concerning this Relation, the Observator being a person to whom I am fo much obliged, I cannot but as part of requital of his own labours, adde something for illustration of his Story, and rectifying tome mistakes thereof. Know then, Reader, that this Earl of Nidderdale, of whom the Observator speakes, was then no Earle, but the Lord Maxwell, no more but so; and the very Man, or I am deceived, mention'd in Habernfield Discovery. For, a rank Papist he was, and Anno 1624. went to Rome to receive the Popes extraordinary Benediction; which the Councel of Scotland hearing of, they fer out a Ear, or Profeription against him for departing the Kingdome without leave: Soon after, King James dying, he came over into England, and by the Dukes favour, whose Kinswoman he had married, was, Anno 1625. joyned in Commission with the Earle of Anandale (Murrey) for furnmoning a Parliament (not for Revoking of church, and other lands formerly invefted in the Crown) but for contribution of monies and ships against the Dunkirkers; and was designed to preside there, with power to place and displace what Officers he pleased. In Order and Pomp sutable to so great a Trust, the Lord buyes him a Coach most radiant and richly gilded; this he fends before him to Dalkeith. The Councel of Scotland having early notice of this, conspire to adhere and stick close together, and to oppose his commission: And the surer to frustrate the Lords designe, they send to all the chief Towns informing them what was comming, defiring they would fend in the money with all expedition. The Townes conformed instantly, and all was done; yea the very undoing

and destruction of his glorious Coach, before the Lord Maxwell came to Barwich, and further he durft not go, being informed his person so generally hated, might be in great danger there, but posted amain to the Court of England, where finding the King cool in the businesse (having had an account from the Councel of Scotland of al their proceedings, & advertised by them how displeasing a President that Lord was like to prove in respect of his Religion) & h the Duke gone to the Hague atter him he goes, and returnes with him into England. The Duke and this Lord being come to Court, possesse the King with strange insolences and affronts committed by the councel of Scotland against his Regal power. His Majesty in some indignation thereupon fends for them to come forthwith, and answer what he had to object against them:up they come to court, and being by his Majesty chidden for their miscarriages, they defying this Lord openly in his Majesties presence. spake withal bug words, not very loyal 'tis confest; whereat his Majesty told them then, and not before, he would make them restore all to the Crown, which they had taken from it in his Fathers Minority. This and somewhat more, my information from a credible hand, and of a date a. greeable to the story, what succeeded hereupon the Observator tells you.

Page. 163.

Fol. 161. The Ring first named eight Bishops, then those eight Bishops chose eight Noble men, those Noble men chose so many Barons, and those the like number of Burgesses, &c. Observator. Not altogether so as our Author hath it, for the Bishops and Noble men together chose eight Commissioners for the Sheriff domes and as many for the Corporations.

Answer. My informer being a Person of such eminency of that Nation, and so versed in the affairs of that Kingdome; is, I think, more credible in this particular then a forreigner.

Page 171.

Fol. 182. True it is he had too much and too long favoured the Romish Faction, but as upon what account he favoured it is uncertain, &c.] Our Author here acquits the Archbishop from the Popish faith, but leaves him under a suspition of favouring the Popish faction; which in a man who cannot tell upon what account he favoured it, may be thought uncharitable. But both King James and King Charles in several Declarations give this Reason for it, &c.

Answer. It is I think, no uncharitable act to centure any man for what is professedly true, no matter upon what account 5

count; to condemn a man for what is but a bare furmife may be uncharitable. And that the Archbishop favoured the Papill faction, our Observator doth not only grant, but endeavors to shew jupon what account it was, saying Both King James and King Charles in Several Declarations, and in their feveral Answers to Parliament Petitions give this reason for it for it? for what? for the Archbishops favouring the Popith faction? did ever any such thing ever enter into their thoughts, as to declare what moved the Archbishop to favour the Romish faction? I will not dwell upon this reason which the Observator would perswade us he had for it, that is, therefore to obtain like favours for fuch Protestants as lived in the Dominions of Popish Princes; nor on what he might have had, of keeping the ballance even between them and the Puritans. But deliver what, having heard formerly, but upon dubious report, I am I think, certainly informed was the true cause thereof. For being told by one, that he had many an ill look from the Commons upon that very account, True, faid he, I believe it, but something must be done to please the Дисеп.

Fol. Ibid. He tampered indeed to introduce some ceremonies bordering upon superstition, discled by us and abused by them; from whence the Romanists collected such a disposition in him to their Tenets, as they began to cry him up for their projetyte.] Observator. In this Passage many things are to be considered. First, these Ceremonies are not here said to be superstitious, but only to border upon superstition. Secondly, they are said to be dissuited, which shows they were still in force. Thirdly, that these ceremonies had been abused by them of the Church of Rome, and therefore might lamfully be restored; for abusus non tollit usum.

Answer. The first is confest. The second is really a very dumb shew; the word dissed doth not at all imply that those ceremonies were in sorce, but only that the Resonners of our Church, observing how much they had been abused by the Church of Rome, thought sit not to retain but lay aside the use of them; Thirdly, things abused may be lawfully restored to their Primitive use, but then it must be by lawful Authority, and in a lawful manner. And the lawfulnesse of their restauration, doth not import an expediency, the Apostle putting such a difference between these two.

Page 176.

Fol. 184. This Archbishops Predecessor penultine and last but one.] Observator. He was not Dr. Whitgist, but Dr. Bancrost.

Answer. Confest, as I said before, a lapse of memory.

Fol. Ibid. That is, as a witty Gentleman said well, a new Synod, made of an old Convocation. Observator. This witty Gentleman here meant was Sr. Edward Deering.

Answer. Here the Observator is wofully out; for the witty Gentleman here meant was not Sr. Edward Deering; no such wordsto be found in al his speeches, but it was the Lord Digby his speech Nov.12.1640. and consequently this learned descant upon Sr. Edward is out of doores.

Fol. Ibid. By a new Commission from the King. No such matter verily; the new Commission which he (peaks of gave them no such power; The writ by which they were first called and made to be a Convocation, gave them power to fit, and by that writ they were to fit as a Convocation, til by another writ proceeding from the same Authority they were dissolved.

Answer. I shall here deliver the true state of this businesse, and then submit to the judgement of standers by. Feb. the 20th. 1639. the Convocation writs went forth to the feveral Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for the Election of Clerks to the Convocation; in which writs though there were these words ad tractandum, consentiendum, & concludendum, &c. Yet could not the Convocation Treat, consent, or conclude any thing without a special commission enabling them thereto. This Commission therefore was issued out April the 15. two dayes after the Parliament sate and impowred the Houses of convocation f to alter amend and change the old Canons, and to make new during the Parliament. ] So that the Parliament being dissolved May the 5. by consequence this Commission expired by the Observators own concession; but though the Commission was nulled, it was a question still whither the Convocation was so also: In the ensuing Parliament it was agreed that it was; and if it was not, yet was it beheld to have so little life in it, as the King thought fit to re-animate it with a new Commission, bearing date May 12, Authorizing it to make Canons, &c. And to continue during his Majesties pleasure. Notwithstanding this Commission, the Observator tells us [That the King for fatisfation of some scrupulous members of the lower house, propounded the Question to some eminent Lawyers, who resolved under their hands [That the Convocation being called by the Kings writ, was to continue until it were diffolved by the Kings writ, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Parliament. All which

is very true, but notall the truth; for the light-fingerd Observator hath pocketed up the break-neck of the businesse, suppressing what those Lawyers sent along with their opinions, viz. that notwithstanding them, they would advise the Convocation in making of Canons to be very sparing, as I am enformed by a member of that Convocation and one (no matter who) as knowing and credible a person as that affembly had any.

Page 182. Fol. Ibid. Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture. Thrase being of equivalent import, and denoting the felf same persons without the least distinction . T Observator. When our Author playes the Historian in relating of such things as are built upon good intelligence, he doth it very well, few better; but when he comes to shew his opinion in matters of controversie, he doth it very ill, none morse. For first. I do not believe our Author can easily prove Bishops and Presbyters to be of equivalent import.

Answer. Out upon this Observator who is so grosly out in both; for really there are many better Historians then my felf, and some worse disputants; the Observator for one; but a very much worse Observator, I am certain 3, for had he not been an ill-looking-fellow, he might with half an eye have discerned, that I do not at all deliver minelown opinion in this particular, but what many did then affert; those are the very words; and that many did so affert, is without all dispute! but since the Observator will needs have it to be mine own judgement, it shall be so for once, and he have his saying. And what I pray doth he oppose against it? but [first, want of Logick to inferre an identity or famenesse in the thing, from a Community of names, and proves it by St. Peter, who calls our Saviour Christ 1 Pet. 2.25. the Bishop of our souls, and himself 1 Pet. verse 1. a Presbyter or Preist (as most unhandfomely our English reads it) an Elder, concluding from thence, that it were forry Logick to make Christ, & every ordinary Bishop, and the Prince of the Apostles, and a simple Presbyter all one. I shall first take leave to observe his Parenthesis, before I passe further. Herein he hath a fling at our Translators, for rendring the word Presbyter, Elder; where's the unhandsomenesse of it? All Latine Expositors, and Greek Lexicons, translate apaccurigos senior; and I believe it will puzzle the Observator, to find any one who ever interpreted senior by Priest; and why, I would gladly know, is it more unhandsome in our Translators, then it was in Dr. Heilen (from whom the Observator differs vastly in this particular) who tells us, that the ancient Fathers called the Mi- Lincoln. E-

Antidot. nister | dit.2. p.157. nister of the Sacrament of the Altar sometimes Presbyter, Elder, and sometimes Sacerdos, Priest: a thing so universally received amongst us, as you shall very rarely finde the word Presbyter turned into Priest, and never Sacerdos into Elder; now it being so rare to finde Presbyter otherwise rendred then by Elder, a vulgar translation should be accommodated to vulgar apprehensions; for a modern Poet, and a witevery inch of him, gives us this golden Rule,

> Return old vertues, but forbear New words not fitted to the Ear.

But now ad rem, and to the mans arguments, which is nothing ad rem, and clear besides the cushion, a meer shift and no more; for doth any man doubt that the thesis is limited to Gospel-persons initiated into sacred orders, beneath the Apostles, and above Deacons? Let him or any men else, tell me where fuch persons in Holy Text are really distinguished, that is, where Presbyters import not Bishops, and Bishops Presbyters, and then he shall be confest to speak to purpose, to much better purpose then the Observator, who produceth the order of the late Church of England in the ordaining of Bishops, when we talk of those whom Holy Text calls Bishops, not what they were in succeeding times, or are in our Church. And thus I have knockt down Episcopacy, faith the Observator, with a painted club: Dead as a door nail no doubt, yet really not so much as touched I dare say for it; I am fure Episcopacy, I mean Episcopacy by Divine Right, may live many a fair day after it, notwithstanding that affertion, the other 1300. years, as it hath done already (for so long it is fince St. Hieromes time, whose opinion all men know it was in terminis) and yet for all that, by the leave of Smeltymnuus, he as great a friend to Episcopacy as any other Father; and not more then my felf. That there was in the Apostolique Church, a Prelacy, a Superiority instituted, of some one (no matter how denominated) over other Presbyters, within some certain walks and precincts; that this superiority was appointed by the very Apostles, to be exemplary, and to give law to succeeding times, I do as little doubt, and think it as demonstrable out of Scripture as any thing whatsoever not fundamental. That the persons selected for so high a function, should be men of the most eminent quality for piety and learning, there is all the reason in the world; and if such a choyce be once made, as de facto in some it now is, judge others what they please, Ishall account them meriting the greatest Reverence and honour (taken in the most Advantageous The Observator Observed.

tagious fense, either for dignity or maintenance, that any subjects are capable of. Soules of the most noble size must have elbow-room, they cannot exercise their activity in an angust and narrow Sphere. The internal Grandour of the mind, may perhaps exist; visible, conspicuous it cannot be. without external Grandour of Estate. Againe, the entries and advenues to advancement, are free and open to Profellions under-graduates to the Sacred; why then shall this be excluded? If Merit be all-sufficient to entitle it possessor to Preferment; what Merit greater then what is resident in persons of Holy Orders? To defraud others of their due Rewards, can at worlt be but injustice; to rob these differeth nothing from Sacriledge. This is my sense of Episcopacy; enough, I hope, to satisfie spirits of the most modest and sober temper; and for others, they are beneath my consideration. This done, I shall jog on to attend the Observators next motion.

Page 186. Fol. Ibid. Such a prejudice there was against them, and the truth contended for lay then so deep as few had perspicacity enough to discern it. 7 Observator. Though some men blind with prejudice, had not the perspicacity of discerning Truth, yet some others had; yet for the opening of the eyes, as well of men willing to be informed, as wilfully blinded, no sooner had the Smectymnuans revived the Controverse, but presently the Divine Right of Episcopacy was maintained and published by Dr. Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, Ov.

Answ. Though these observations little touch my Free-hold; yet I shall take a superficicial view of his Authors. D. Hall. the most Reverend and Holy Bp. of Exeter, leads the Vansnext comes Churchman, but whether Goodman, Worshipful, right Worshipful, Honorable, right Honorable, right Reverend Churchman, he tels us not: There is indeed such an Author extant, but what's in him?really, nothing but what he hath stollen from Archb. Whitgi ft, Bp. Bilson, Bp. Hall, and others, and is worn as thredbare a sthis Observators coat: Then he goes on to Dr. Tailor, and Dr. Hammond, theseall of a cloth, and but Churchman, good men and true. Next, he proceeds to Lay-Champions, Sir Thomas Afton, Mr. Theyr, the Lord Falkland, and in the fag-end of all, would you think it ? learned Mr. Selden, not totally against Bishops. But verily the man did not consult Mr. Selden when he wrote this; for certain I am, that in his de Synedris page 423. he seems clear of another mind, extolling Salmasius, and Walo-Messalinus, a note above Ela, for their paines in the Argument of Ecclefiastical Order; though I professe I see little solid in either. Before I leave the Observator, I cannot but take notice, that I misse amongst his Assertors for Episcopacy, one, who though he is No-body with the Observator, is Some-body with all men else, and that is King Charles, the Chief insuantials of that Cause; who did not only take up the Bucklers in good earness, but the pen also to defend it; and by the last did so gallantly acquit himselfe of his opponents, so solidly, so perspicuously resute them, as Smellymnuus, & qui smellymnuuntur ab illis, and all their adherents will never be able to make head against it again.

Page 189.

Fol. Ibid. It was of so mysterious import, as the very Imposers, much less the Jurors, could not decipher what it meant, &c.]
Observator. I find by this that our Author hath spoken with very
sew of the Convocation.

Answer. Were not malice a' συλλόγις in τι, such a brutish and an ill-reasoning thing, (as Gregory Nazianzen calls it) sure the Observator might have easily discovered, that these faults imputed to the Canon, are not delivered as of mine owne suggestion, but contrived by others: If any doubt of this, he may consult the Lord Dygbies Speech Novemb. 12. 1640, the Exceptions taken against this oath by the Counties of Northamptonsorte, of Kent, more especially those of Devonsire, framed at the Summer Assizes there 1640, formed by the Earle of Bath, and most of the Gentry and Clergy; and septemb, the 16. presented with a Petition to the Lords of the Privy Councel; in every one of which he shall find almost every objection here mention'd, and in all many more.

Page 191.

Fol. Ibid. To exact an Oath of disent from Civil Establishments in such things of indifferency, was an affront to the very fundamentals of Government. Observator. Our author taking it for granted, that the Government of the Church by Bishops is a thing of indifferency, is much aggriculated that the Clergy should binde themselves by Oath not to consent to any alteration of it.

Answer. Quousq3 abuteris patientia nostra? How doth this Observator provoke us? Verily Reader, we must be at the charge of a Remembrancer for him. He is at his Author againe, when his Author quoteth others words: And what saith his Author? That the Government of the Church by Bishops is a thing of indifferency; Really this Senior Sophister hath no aym in his hand, be the Author who he will, certainly

tainly he declares no such matter; his words are, Some things were expressly to be sworn to which were never thought, to have any shew or colour of Sacred Right; but were conceived arbitrary and things of indifferency, &c. Now these some things do not signanter and expressly point out Episcopacy, but clearly exclude it; for they are said to be such things as never had any shew or colour of sacred Right; but Episcopacy, in the very account of its adversaries, hath some colour and shew of it. And to put the matter out of all dispute, this Objection was the Lord Digbyes, who was a sirm friend of Episcopacy, as my History renders him. So then these some things mention'd in the Objection, will be soon decipher'd by Arch-Bishops, Arch-Deacons, Deans, &c. as the Northamptonshire and Kent Exceptions say expressly.

Page 196.
Fol. 186. No Convocation having power to grant any Subsidies or and without consent of the Parliament.] Observator. I must letour Author (and all who shall read him) know that never was any rule more false, nor more weakly grounded.

Answer. Spoken Magisterially enough. What, never any rule more false? How comes it then to passe, that so many Wise and Learned Men in this Parliament should be transported into a different Judgment? Nor is the Rule more false then meakly grounded, if we believe the Observator; truly by his leave there is ground enough to bear that kule, or wiser men then either he, or I, are mistaken. For; doth not the Convocation constantly most humbly pray and destre their Grants and Subsidies may be consirmed and ratisfied by the High Court of Parliament?, Are not their Subsidies always in the Statute-books assigned a particular chapter beginning thus, A Consirmation of a Subsidy, Geo. granted by the Clergy? Now I would gladly learn of the Observator, if the Convacation be all-sussicient of it selse to grant Subsidies, why is the Parliaments Ratisfication sought for, which must signific either all or nothing?

Page 215.

Fol. 202. And on the 18th he was voted guilty of High Treafon. Description. Our Author may please to know; that on
Wednesday, December the 16. a Committee was appointed to draw
up against him (the Arch-Bishop) and the same day, not on the
17th. he was named an Incendiary by the Scots; no complaint comming from them on the Thursday.

Apper. The Observator may be displeased to know that in this particular he is as arrant an Errant as eyer was.

The

The Journals, had he fearcht them, would have told him, that on Thursday Decemb. the 17th, there was a conference between the two Houses: At that meeting the Lord Paget read the Scotch Charge against the Lieutenant of Ireland and the Archbishop. It was many sheets of paper close written, and in folio, &c. ] So that here is a complaint from the Scots against the Archbishop, and in this charge the Archbishop was named an Incendiary.

Observator. I remember that congratulating him (the Bishop of Lincoln) for the high esteem which he had in both Houses of Parliament. &c.

Answer. By this, and what follows, I perceive this Observator had some Intimacy with this Bishop at this time. Now, gentle Reader, if thou lovest me, beg his resolution in this one Question; if I do not wrong those credible persons who informed me, to call it a Question. I have been told that Doctor Heylin (I will not fay a party to these premisses) who all the world knows most insolently trampled and insulted upon this Bishop when he was down; no sooner heard of his enlargement, but instantly he came creeping, and cringing, and stawling, and crowching to him fo fervilely, as made his Lordthip merry at the uncouth fight; and all this to fland his friend, or at least not appear his focat that time, when that Dodor was in a most forry plight. Now I would gladly know of this Observator, wasit so, or no?

Page 221. Observator. I have some reason to believe that the Clergy of that Convocation did not appear there by their Councel learned, sufficiently anthonized and instructed to advocate for them.

Ansmer. How their Councel were instructed I will not determine, fure kam by their Councel they did appear, first, by Mr. Chadwel of Lincolnes Inne, November the 26th then again by Mr. Holborn this 15th of Decemb. who argued two hours in defence of them.

. Fage 224. Fol. 219. The Bishops were excluded by ancient Canon-Laws of the Councel of Foledo to be affiliant in cause of Blood or Death. Observator. That they were disabled from being offiftant in such Cales, I believe an Author cannot prove.

Answer. Let the fourth Canon speak for me and it self in this point. [Si quit Sa cerdotum discursor in alienis periculis extiterit, apud Ecolestan propoium perdat Gradum.] If any Priest shall intermeddle in cases endangering the life of others, let him be degraded.

The Observator Observed.

Fol. 256. They pasted upon the gate of Westminster a Catalogue of all such whose suffrages were for the Earls acquittal, under the stile of Straffordians. 7 Observator. This paper was not pasted upon the gate of Westminster, but on the corner of the wall of Sir William Brunkards house.

Answer. Several and various are the Reports concerning this paper; some agreeing with the Observator; some relating it to be pasted on the head of an hogshead. What I conceived most probable, and was most generally received, I fixt upon, not undertaking to warrant the circumstance, but the thing.

Page 238. Fol. Ibid. The Protestation formed, was the next day read in the lower House, and generally taken by all the Members. 7 Obfervator. Our Author is here out, as in that before; the Protestation not being taken the next day after, but on the very same day it was framed.

Answer. If his Author was no more out in that before, then in this, he is in still I dare warrant him. For the Protestation being debated on the third of May, the ordering and framing thereof kept the House all that day till late at night. So the Journals of that week, which also present us with the reading, and taking thereof the next day by the whole House.

Page 240. Fol. 257. In this perplexity of thoughts he consults with four Bishops. 7 Observator. Not sent for by himselfe, but sent to bim by the Houses of Parliament. The Persons sent on this implogment, were the Primate of Armagh, the Bishops of Lincoln, Durham, and Carlile. Of which, the two last being men unskill'd in politick Affaires, depended wholly on the judgement of the other two; and those carried a sharp tooth against the Lord Lieutenant upon former grudges. The displeasure which the Primate had conceived against him, was for the abrogating of the Articles of Religion established in the Church of Ireland, and settling in their place the Articles of the Church of England, Anno 1623.

Answer. Was ever man so shamefully out, as this observator is here? out of the Story beyond all measure, and out of charity beyond all Religion. First these Bishops were not sent by the Parliament to the King, but sent for by Him. Secondly 43

Secondly, they were five, not four. Thirdly, if any of them depended upon the judgement of the others, it was the Bishop of London, who at the last meeting and consultation spake not one syllable. As for the Bishops of Durham and carlile, they spake as freely as any other, insomuch as the King faulted one of their Syllogismes, because it had in it four terms. Fourthly, the Lord Primate had no fharp tooth against the Lieutenant, as the Observator or Malice it felf suggests; a calumny so absurd, as nothing but the sin thereof can defend it from being ridiculous, not a syllable relating to it being true; for, First the Articles of Religion established in the Church of Ireland were never abrogated, as is evidenced by this Certificate.

We who were present at, and Members of the Convocation holden at Dublin Anno Domini 1624. doe hereby certifie, that upon the proposal of the first Canon, wherein, for the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the Same Cl.r Stian faith, and doctrine of the Sacraments (as was then expressed) we did receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation holden at London in the sear 1562. One of the Assembly stood up and desired that the other Book of Articles agreed upon in the Convocation holden at Dublin in the year 1613. Should be joyned therewith: Unto whom it was then answered, that this addition was altogether needless. that Book having Been already sufficiently ratified by the Decree of the former Synod. But that the least motion was then or there made for the suppressing of those Articles of Ireland, hath no truth all in it; And therefore the Observator, and who soever else hath, or doth averr that the faid Articles either were abolished, or any motion made for the suppressing or abolishing of them, are grossy mistaken, and have abused the said Convocation, in delivering so manifest an untruth. March 18. 1655.

Wil. Bernard.

Samuel Pullein.

Now the Foundation failing, the superstructed grudge must needs fall also. Again, that there was not between the Lord Primate and the Earl any the least umbrage of discontent; that all was most amicable, most friendly between them, is further so likely, as it is almost demonstrable. For before his final Sentence, the Lieutenant did from time to time, both at the Black-Red, and in the Tower, advise with the Primate concerning his Answer to his Charge. For after Sentence, he desired and obtained of the Parliament, that

The Observator Observed.

the Primate might be fent to him to ferve him with his Ministerial Office in his last and fatal extremity; he cheerfully entertained his spiritual instructions, he prayed with him. fent Mellages to the King by him, took him by the hand and led him along with him to the Scaffold: All which fure he would never have done, had he taken notice, or but suspested such a grudge levant and couchant in the Primates breast. Fifthly, whereas this Trifler deriveth this forged grudge from this occasion [because, saith he, Dr. Brambil, once the Lieutenants Chaplain, and then Bishop of Derry, had appeared most in Abrogation of those Articles] I must tell the man that there was never any controversie in that Synod between the Lord Primate and that Bishop concerning those Articles: About the Reception of the English Ecclesiastical Canons, fome disagreement there was indeed, the Bishop of Derry moving they might be there admitted intirely, which the Lord Primate opposed as prejudicial to the liberty of the Irish Church, and prevailed that only some selected Canons of the English Church should be received with the addition of others of that Synods framing, which was done accordingly. Sixthly, whereas the Observator placeth the Synod of Ireland in Anno 1633. his alter idem Dr. Heylins History of the Sabbath, part 2d. page 259. could have told him it was in 1634. Lastly, whereas this Observator demands an account of our thoughts whether [the King was likely to be well informed in his Conscience, when wen so interessed were designed to the managing and preparing of it? ] I can assure him that the Bishops only sent him to the resolution of his own judgement for matter of fatt, and to the opinions of the Judges for matter of Law; and that the restless and insatiable scruple which so discomposed his Majesties Conscience was this; That notwithstanding he most earnestly pressed the Judges to declare the particular Article of the Earls charge, which (if proved) was Treason by an expresse Law of the Land, he could not extort from them one single instance, nor any thing else, but that the Earl was guilty upon the whole matter, which he thought was too confused a general, upon which to shed the blood of one of the bases, much more of the Noblest Oth.

Thus have I finished my Animadversions upon the Observators Matter. I should next proceed to his Alphabetical Table, or Vocabulary of my uncouth words, which really is the Comical part of his Tragedies against me, and it were pity to lose so much mirth. I shall therefore in liew of that Alphabet present thee Reader with a Catalogue, first of mine own, and then of his mistakes, with some things

of remark resulting from them both; and first for mine own.

Fol. 6. In King James his interment, May the 4th, is put for

Ibid. Concerning the Marriage of the Queen, May the 8th for

Fol. 20. Dr. Laud Bill op of Bath and Wells, for Bishop of St. Davids.

Fol. 71. Archbishop Abbot his Keeper for the Lord Zouch his.

Fol. 129. Guild-Hall for Alderman Freemans house.

Fol. 131. All Counties for all Port Towns within the Real m.

Fol. 136. Earl of Norhumberland for the Earl of Lindsey.

Fol. 184. Arch-Bishop Whitgift mistaken one remove.

Other things as errors there are, I confesse, charged upon me by the Observator; but some are dubious, and no constat they are errors. Some are infallibly demonstrated to be no errors, and the rest that are errors are none of mine. Of mine, these are a true and perfect account; and how far these comply for quality and number with what I pretend to in my Preface, I shall now examine. My words in that Preface are [Confident I am I stand secure against substantial falshoods Dares the Observator (though he as daring as another) say any one of these falshoods are substantial, so as their rectification will destroy the frame of the Narrative to which they relate? I presume he will not. Circumstantial they are every one; and against circumstantial, though I durst not assume confidence, yet I hoped I stood secure also. And now how that hope hath failed me, shall be my next enquiry. The total of my lapses and slips amount to eight; no more, if I have faithfully collected them, as I hope I have, and did really fointend; but lest one or two should be casually omitted, I allow them to be 10. And being fo, I appeal to thy ingenuous candor, gentle Reader, first, whether in describing of at least a thousand circumstances, it be not a greater miracle that I mistook in but 10, then that I erred so ma-Secondly, whether 10. errors in such circumstances, wherein the fame of no one man, the interest of no one cause, is either damnify'd, or advantaged, be ground sufficient for fo much clamour, so loud outcry, as would gladly raise the Country, yea the whole Nation against me. Lastly, whether it would not have represented the Observator, to be a man of more Christian, yea Moral Principles, had he vivî voce, by conference, or by letters hinted to me these mistakes, as fit considerations for a second impression. In-

de ed the last is needlesse, he having so fair and frequent ob. port unities of doing the first: True it is, acquaintance there is none between us, if acquaintance be taken for familiarity but acquainted with my person he is, and I with his, so well,

The Observator Observed.

as he knows me perfectly without a Nomenclator.

How can it be otherwise conjectured? when the truth is, we have met in London at the fame shop, I may safely say neer an hundred times; and to speak more close to the point, not lesse then ten times, not only after the publication of my History; but after he had, to my knowledge, perused it, and before he had entred one line of his Observations into the Presse. All which do evidently declare, that it was not my information, but a dear and precious quarrel he defired.

Having given you this particular of mine own failings proceed to those of the Observator himself, which I have

not only faid, but proved to be Errours.

Page 64. Denying the paper found in Feltons hat. Page 7. Concerning Peter Baro, and the Margarets Profesforthip. 3.

Page 86. Saying, Standing at Gloria Patri was never obtruded. Page 114. Concerning the Sabbath 2.

Page: P22. Concerning the Setting forth of the Ships. . Page 176. Sir Edward Dering for the Lord Digby.

Page 215. Archbishop of Canterbury voted an Incendiary Del cemb. the 16th for the 17.

Page 238. Concerning the taking of the Protestation.

Page 140. Concerning the Bishops sent to the King the Primate. and the Irish Articles. 6.

The total whereof is 18. in 17 printed theers, almost two for one escaped from me in 70. which yet were dispensable in any man, were they but circumstantiall, as mine, but when one of them tends to the very destruction of sacred worship, as that of the Sabbath 3 and another to the defamation of one of the most glorious Lights of our Church? These are unpardonable faults, were not both the sufferers thereby above his obloquy. In this Catalogue I have for born fuch miltakes as relate imediately to my felf. Ithave nor minded him of his most notorous corrupting and fallh fying my I reface; nor of his wilfull milluking other words for mine, which cost him a fixth part of his ramphiet ; not yet his detorting & wrestling mine owne words to his sancy. against their naturall mind and inclination. Things counter to the ingenuity he so pretends to in his Epistle made to me, to the ancient mode of simplicity, to which I with he would

The Observator Observed.

47

conform hereafter: Therefore, gentle Reader, when thou feest him next, after my hearty commendations, present him from me with his Distich again a little vary'd.

Use thou old vertues, I shall forbear New words not fitted to the ear.

# Addenda to the Observator Observed.

Page 6.1.8. After the end of the Paragraph. But if any demand what made King James so stout an adversary of the Arminians, the Observator hath an answer ready minted, an exceeding good one I assure you, and for which the Arminians have reason to thank him : Reason of State, he faith, it was, and King-Craft: how fo? because the Arminians were united into a party under the command and countenance of Olden-Barnevelt, and by him used to undermine the power of Maurice then Prince of Orange ] so then by the Ob-Scrvators own inference, Reason of State and King-Craft will not tolerate the staminiaus in a Commonwealth; and if so, they well deserved the name of a Faction, as he page 73. most aptly stileth them, as men having as strong a tang of the Jesuites in Practical, as Dogmatical concernments; and indeed a Faltion, a turbulent, seditious Fattion, the united Frovinces found them all along from the first of their spawning there; more especially in that wicked conspiracy of Barnevelt who suffered most condignly upon that very account 1619, and in no less damnable and hellish plot, about three years after, wherein the States fitting in Councel at the Hague, and after them all other anti-Arminian Magistrates were destined to saughter: but this plot aborting and miscarrying, the next was to murder the Prince of Orange, to seise upon the Magazines, to displace all Officers both martial and civil, and commit an horrid Massacre upon all of different belief; all which was by a bleffed providence discovered and prevented, four of the principal conspirators hanged, and the rest some imprison'd, others banisht. This was the deportment of the Observators Faction in the Netherlands, an argument they are none of the best Subjects, be their Dodrine as Orthodox as they pretend.

Page 10. l. Penult. At this mark \* But seeing the Observator so disliketh this impulsive of Irregularity, I will take it again & by exchange afford him another for it, which though not so publiquely declared, yet was by knowing men in those affairs beheld as the real and genuine cause of this Commission, and that was the Archbishops refusal to license Dr. sibthorp's Book. But be the impulsive to it what it will, sure I am Sr. Henry Martin told the Bishops they would incur a pramunire did they act by this Commission, and that Legally the Commission which should impower them ought to proceed from the Archbishop, not from the King: to whose advice the Bishops did so far listen as they superseded and sorbore to act untill a while after they obtained leave and Commission from the Archbishop.

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